# The Nation

Vol. CVI NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1918 No. 2742

## The Week

MR. WILSON'S statement of war aims is making itself felt in Russia and in Germany. At Petrograd the *Pravda* is described as the official organ of the Bolshevik party, and the *Izvestia* as the official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets. Inasmuch as the Bolsheviki are ruling Russia through the Soviets, it is puzzling why the *Pravda* should see in Mr. Wilson the representative of rapacious capitalism and Imperialism and the *Izvestia* should welcome Mr. Wilson's friendly attitude towards the Soviets. Whatever may be the explanation, there is nevertheless clear gain in the fact that, whereas formerly Petrograd opinion was unanimous in its suspicions of America's motives, there is now evidently a considerable body of radical opinion which gives us credit for meaning well. The fact that Lenine, official head of the Bolshevik Government, thought it worth while to transmit the President's message to Trotzky at Brest-Litovsk is additional evidence that Mr. Wilson's words have not fallen into the void. As for Germany, we are now getting from organs like the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the *Vorwärts* a statement of views far different from the evidently garbled summary with which the Berlin censor supplied us last week.

RECENTLY the press both here and in England has been full of stories about the grave economic condition of both the Central Empires. Very detailed accounts have been published about the scarcity of food in the big cities, hunger riots, generally bad health due to underfeeding, war weariness evidenced by popular protests, and, lately, tales about demoralization and even mutiny in the army. Naturally, the ordinary American has by this time got to the point where he distrusts his eyes. With regard to non-official news reports, seeing is no longer believing. We have been deceived too often by unscrupulous rumor-mongers. More than two years ago we were told very similar tales about what was taking place, tales to which time has given the lie. Would not one of the most useful things the Bureau of Public Information could do now be to collate all the information anent this subject of German exhaustion, together with the sources from which it was drawn, and condense it into a good-sized pamphlet?

A HINT as to one motive which enters into the Teutonic claims with regard to Courland and Lithuania is supplied by Mr. Arthur Ransome, the well-informed special correspondent of the London *Daily News* at Petrograd. The Teutonic fear, according to Mr. Ransome, is that as the German armies leave Courland and Lithuania the Russian Revolution will enter these regions. Germany is willing to accept the Russian Revolution as a political revolution, that is, to the extent that it grants Courland and Lithuania whatever degrees of independence they desire, but Germany does not welcome the prospect of the establishment of Bolshevik proletarianism, carrying with it the expropriation of the minority German landlords in Courland and German trade interests elsewhere. If the future of these former provinces of Russia is to be decided now, the German armies will see to it that the social revolution is kept within bounds. Trotzky's is the converse position. Under the principle of "self-determination" he foresees the Letts and Lithuanians adopting proletarian institutions and voting for amity with the Russian republic. Under German influence "self-determination" might not work at all. The case is most clear-marked in Poland, which Teutonic opinion takes it for granted will be a kingdom within the sphere of Teutonic influence, but which Petrograd would like to see a proletarian state in the circle of Slav republics, with Russia, Ukrainia, Lithuania, and Finland.

WITHIN a day or two after Lord Rhondda's appeal to America for food came Winston Churchill's urgent call for more American troops. Thus to the clash of opinion within this country concerning the best form of first-aid for the Allies is added a diversity of counsel from abroad. As a matter of fact, there has been all along among British Ministers an extraordinary lack of team-work in addressing the public. One wonders where Lloyd George's executive ability comes in if he cannot get some unanimity of propaganda among his colleagues and subordinates. In matters of war policy, Bonar Law, Carson, Lord Cecil will be found speaking with an authoritativeness that should belong only to the head of Government or to a definitely accredited spokesman. In matters of greater detail, any one of a half-dozen Ministers and department heads will frequently contradict any other or all of his associates, as has been repeatedly the case on the question of food conditions in England. We can understand how Winston Churchill, as a member of the Cabinet speaking before an Anglo-American gathering, would call in general terms for America's fullest effort in the war. But when he begins to specify, he works for confusion. The elaborate labors of Col. House's mission were supposed to have accomplished just this important task of arranging the needs and problems of America and the Allies in a definite order of priority.

ON one important point in our policy of preparation for war Mr. Churchill does speak out with gratifying precision. Col. House brought back with him a guarantee from the Allies of sufficient arms and equipment for as many men as we can reasonably hope to send over in the present year, and the British Minister of Munitions drives this home with the statement that England has "sufficient reserve material fully to equip several hundred thousand Americans when they land in Europe." It is a striking sign of disorganization in the War Department that even when it has a good case it cannot get it before the American people. Thus it has evidently been the policy to send over our first contingents in makeshift apparel with the understanding that equipment would await them on the other side. This will account for stories of American soldiers landing in France in civilian clothes or meagre military equipment. But why not have told the country the reason? So in the case of Gen. Crozier. The fact that he has virtually been

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disciplined by Secretary Baker would indicate that Mr. Baker was influenced by revelations at the Congressional hearings. Yet it would seem that the shortage of rifles and machine guns in the training camps for which Gen. Crozier was punished may have been owing to this same fixed policy of looking to the Allies for war material. If so, why not say so?

HOW soon will President Wilson's attention be drawn to the existing conditions in New York harbor because of the coal famine? Estimates vary largely as to the actual number of ships tied up here, some putting it at more than 200. But anybody who has eyes and takes a ferry-ride can see the docks crowded with some of the largest liners; numbers of them should have sailed weeks ago. Their cargoes are on board; soldiers are waiting to sail by them. If there were a German submarine blockade of the port, the situation would hardly be more trying. Now, this lack of coal is a direct blow at our allies and a great aid to the enemy, for with the available tonnage none too large, as both Lloyd George and Sir Eric Geddes have publicly stated, the interrupting of traffic by the delaying of cargo vessels becomes of the utmost seriousness. It was announced on Monday that there would be a ship controller to use these vessels more effectively. But what if there is no coal? When ships from New York arrive in England, the Admiralty does everything possible to "turn them around" quickly. This will hardly be worth while if they have to wait two or three weeks for bunker coal here.

THE Selective Draft law is constitutional by a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, a verdict for which the country was hardly waiting with bated breath. The Court might have cited the precedent of the Civil War, but, to judge from the abbreviated reports of Justice White's statement, it preferred to deduce its findings from a common-sense interpretation of the war-making powers of Congress. Nevertheless, it is well that we should have a clear-cut pronouncement on the legality of a state of facts which, otherwise, there would have been found a few subtle or discontented minds to make a subject of debate. The case against the Draft law seems to have been based on the argument that it involved an intrusion of Federal citizenship into the domain of State citizenship. To the lay mind this is not a very powerful plea at a time when the armed forces of the separate States have passed into Federal service as the result of legislation a good many years old and enacted for just such a contingency as confronts us now.

WHAT will Col. Roosevelt and the Security League and the other ardent believers in the need of universal military service say to Lloyd George's description of it as "the increasing evil of compulsory military service"? We have been told of late that it was all-essential to our physical health as a nation, our safety, etc., etc., and we have been assured that if England had only had this system the war would have been over long ago. Yet here is the British Premier earnestly recommending that international action be taken to end it for all time, at the very moment when our militarists are working tooth and nail for its adoption at this session of Congress. Count Czernin is against the system, speaking for Austria, and the Bolsheviki or their successors, whoever they may be, will see to it that this device of the Czar to keep himself in power is forever done away with. France may be counted on to come in, for even before the war the whole nation was groaning under it, and if Germany is to be rendered militarily harmless, the best way to do it is to divest her of that system by which she has created "nations in arms." For universal service is the German invention which more than anything else has been responsible for the armed Europe of the last fifty years and her present moral downfall.

THE vote in the House on the woman suffrage amendment bore out the forecast of careful observers. Yet it was closer than expected. But another great victory has been won in what must begin to seem to even its bitterest opponent a cause that is destined to have a complete triumph before long. That the same session of Congress should have beheld a two-thirds vote in the House for both prohibition and woman suffrage is rather less surprising than such a vote for only one of these reforms would have been. Yet the alignment upon the two questions was radically different, and significant of much in our politics. Sections and parties were cut to pieces in the vote upon prohibition. Even the supposedly hostile large States did not vote as a unit upon it. But this condition is true of this latest vote in a far smaller degree. On the surface, the Republicans were overwhelmingly for the amendment; the Democrats almost equally divided upon it. But, of course, this was not a party division. It was a sectional division. Not the Democratic party, but the South, was refusing to give its adherence to votes for women. Only two Democrats from New York, for instance, were recorded against the amendment, while of the 136 negative votes, 83 came from below Mason and Dixon's line.

NO one will expect similar action in the Senate at once. The condition that operated to give prohibition smoother sailing in that body than in the House operates upon suffrage in the reverse way. A few of the most populous States are not aligned against a host of smaller ones, each of the latter casting as many votes as any one of the former, but a considerable number of middle-sized States are associated against the rest. A two-thirds majority in the Senate means 64 votes. Thirty-three votes, that is, are enough to defeat the amendment, and these could be cast by a dozen States, voting solidly, if a few stray votes could be picked up in addition. The very narrowness of the vote in the House will stiffen opposition in the Senate. But there is no reason for anything but cheerfulness in the ranks of the suffragists. A more objectionable amendment than that which they are advocating was finally forced upon the Senate, after numberless rejections—that providing for the popular election of Senators. In any retrospect of the long struggle, the vote in New York in November must loom as the drive that broke the centre.

WHAT Germany's outlook will be for regaining after the war her lost opportunities in foreign trade has been one of the larger questions in the background ever since her Government violated the rights and affronted the moral sense of the nations with which she used to trade. From German sources there have been frequent hints of large preparations, in the way of new shipbuilding, for an aggressive push into the foreign markets. In commercial circles of the Allies, too, the question has been raised as to whether Germany would not actually occupy a position of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE
BEREA, OHIO

great advantage, with so large a part of her merchant marine kept safe in German ports during the war, while her submarines were sinking merchant ships of her enemies and the neutrals. On the other hand, so high a German authority as Ballin, of the Hamburg-American Line, has publicly predicted that his country's post-bellum foreign trade will be formidably handicapped. The present lack of accumulated raw materials of manufacture will keep down exports. The very high prices which Germany, because of the conditions of her currency and the continuing adverse foreign exchange rates, will have to pay for foreign merchandise, must similarly cut down imports.

NO one can be sure how far the outside world's resentment and antagonism to Germany will act to prevent such recovery of foreign markets. That will have to be tested by experience. We cannot see, however, that the problem will be solved by the proposed referendum of the National Chamber of Commerce regarding a possible "economic combination against Germany." It is true that business men who vote for such a trade boycott after war would do so on the assigned ground that "governmental conditions in Germany" would have made such action, from the American point of view, "necessary for self-defence." It is also stated, in the resolution, that no discrimination against Germany will be undertaken "if the German Government has in reality become a responsible instrument controlled by the German people." But who is to judge whether that result shall actually have been achieved or not? If the referendum were to have any meaning, it would involve the passing of judgment by a trade organization on the internal politics of a foreign state. When that very question is likely enough to become a highly delicate problem of the President and the State Department, there is a slight tinge of absurdity in the implication that a purely mercantile organization will undertake to settle it. Under certain conceivable circumstances, we can imagine American business men formally binding themselves to support a policy recommended for good and sufficient reason by the Government. But the occasion must exist and the Government must take the lead. Not least among the objections to the plan of the Chamber of Commerce is the perfectly obvious fact that, under existing circumstances, American business men who disapproved of the proposals embodied in the referendum would probably not vote on it at all; so that, in any case, only an imperfect presentation of opinion could be obtained.

IS not the German Government establishing a dangerous precedent against itself when it agrees to pay a large indemnity to the family of the Spanish composer, Enrique Granados, who was drowned when the ship on which he was travelling was sunk by a submarine? Can it be that when it comes to conciliating opinion in neutral Spain, legitimate "cruiser warfare" does take on something of the aspect of submarine murder? Or is it another case of the law of necessity which impels the German Government to violate its conscience and pay indemnity to the orphans of a man who brought his own fate on himself by venturing into the zone chalked off by the U-boats, very much like the suicides of the Lusitania? The German Government itself may not be a great respecter of precedent, but to the outside world after the war this confession of guilt in one instance may take on significance. By Count Czernin's principle of reparation for wrongs visited on civilians in violation of international law, Germany faces a damage bill for loss of life and property which may well run up into the billions.

NOTHING can in the end withstand the patience of diplomacy. The fisheries dispute with Canada, which everybody except a few of the permanent officials at Washington had forgotten, is now, it is suddenly announced, threatened with amicable adjustment. Questions of rather larger import looming up on the horizon have, we suppose, suggested to the diplomatists that this one might as well be disposed of once for all. Ohio, it seems, and the State of Washington were chiefly responsible for the failure of a treaty regulating fishing in the Great Lakes that was drawn up some years ago. Now, its framers doubtless reason, owing to the lapse of time, the question will strike these States as a new one. Accordingly, viewing it without prejudice, they will not persist in opposition to an agreement that is necessary if the fish, the unhappy subject of these quarrels, are to have proper protection provided for them. Some may think it a pity that this small marine nationality should owe the recognition of its rights not to the merits of the case, but to a struggle with which it has no concern.

FROM Chicago, Seattle, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and smaller cities it is possible to gather an unusual amount of evidence of the imperfections of police administration in American cities. In Chicago the revelations of Costello, a police officer whose headquarters were raided some time ago and who has become the State's chief witness in the trial of the former Chief of Police Healey, need not all be believed to leave a shocking residuum of undoubted truth. Whoever was responsible, it has been clearly shown that police promotions were sold, that graft was collected from gambling houses and other evil resorts, that the licenses of evil saloons were juggled with, and so on. In Seattle a shaking up of the police has followed hard upon the refusal of the commander at Camp Lewis to permit his troops to go to the city because of the moral dangers there. In Philadelphia, Mayor Smith, complaining of the paucity of recruits for the police force, has met with the press retort that if the police force were better administered, and a notorious system of favoritism and petty graft within it ended, the service would be more attractive. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* complains of "an orgy of lawlessness." The very first steps in making urban democracy safe ought now to be looked to with special care.

A LABOR Ministry for Australia was forecast as a result of the vote against conscription, which has brought about the resignation of Premier Hughes. The leader of the Labor party, Frank Gwynne Tudor, it is definitely stated, is to be the new Prime Minister. The element of doubt in the change is due to the fact that his party, although playing so large a part in the recent vote in the country, is in a minority in the Australian Parliament. This might mean a short-lived Ministry if it were composed entirely of Laborites. But perhaps a mixed Cabinet would be possible, which could command a majority. The situation is of more than local significance, for what has happened in Australia is only what observers have been prophesying for larger nations. Russia has actually had a Labor Cabinet for some time, and there are many signs of a similar development in France and England, not the least of which is Lloyd George's recognition of Labor as an important political factor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The President's World Leadership

THE *Nation* has no desire to strain the language of eulogy in speaking of the President's address to Congress—and to the whole world. But we should be denying our own if we did not recognize, with heartfelt gratitude, the clear and high declaration of principles which President Wilson has made. For those principles are, in the main, the principles for which the *Nation* has stood, year in and year out, and with increasing ardor of conviction during the war. Especially in recent weeks, with the urgent appeals of the Russian democracy sounding in the ears of Americans, have we steadily urged that the war aims of the enemies of Germany should be concretely and officially stated. This policy has been freely denounced as silly, pacifist, and well-nigh treasonable, but now that the President of the United States has deliberately adopted it, amid almost universal acclaim, the *Nation* feels that it has at once its justification and reward.

It is needless to waste words on the President's specific proposals. They speak for themselves. They look not merely to the terms on which the war must be ended, but far ahead to the future of civilized nations. They mark out a sort of Grand Charter for the liberty and democracy of the ages to come. Into his single proclamation, the President has gathered the hopes and plans which millions have been cherishing, vaguely, it may be, or even blindly, for a new international régime. Diplomacy in the open and secret treaties thrown into the dust-bin; the seas free to all and artificial trade barriers between the nations levelled; the rights of the smallest and weakest nationality safeguarded; ending of the mad competition in armaments, and the creation of a League of Nations both to enact and to enforce public law throughout the world—here, surely, is a programme and a forecast fitted to appeal to the deepest instincts of humanity, and to fill the prophets of a better day with solemn joy.

The immediate question is whether the President's enumeration of the fundamentals for which the United States is ready to do and suffer all will help to bring the German Government and its allies to a better mind. It is evident that a perfect understanding now exists among Great Britain, France, and the United States. It would not be surprising if the French Premier should soon add his voice to the voices of Lloyd George and President Wilson. In that way the perfect concert of opinion and of sympathy might be emphasized. But there are also important diplomatic conclusions to be drawn. It is an act of high diplomacy in which Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson have joined. Their first and chief aim may well be to "get the jump" on Germany. She was preparing to exploit with the Russians and the neutrals the liberality of her own terms of peace, and to urge that it was only the unblushing Imperialism and selfishness of England and the United States which prevented them from entering at once into a peace conference. Well, we now have the German proposals superseded by offers and stipulations far broader and more democratic. The initiative has, in other words, passed from the hands of the German Government. It now finds the old diplomatic manœuvre called *mise en demeure* applied to it. That is to say, its pretences have been brushed aside, and the issue and responsibility squarely placed upon it. The whole world sees that Germany must answer. She has before her the possibility of peace rooted in justice for all and guaranteed for the long future. Will she reject it, and bring more blood-guiltiness upon her head?

It seems fair to assume that Lloyd George and President Wilson had special information at command. Hints may have come to them in the roundabout ways of diplomacy in war time that a new and more definite and more moderate statement of the aims of the Allies in war and in peace would not be unwelcome in Berlin and in Vienna. Especially does it appear probable that London and Washington had evidence that something could be done to detach Austria and Turkey from a too *intransigeant* Germany. Certainly, Lloyd George used a more conciliatory tone towards both Turkey and Austria than he or Mr. Asquith or Mr. Balfour had employed before. This tone President Wilson echoes —indeed, he led the way a month ago in disclaiming any intention to dismember Austria. There seems to be a hope now of driving a wedge into the Teutonic Quadruple Alliance. This appears to be feared as it is resented in Germany. Even if there is no break-up, the Turkish and Austrian Governments may now bring strong pressure to bear upon the German Government, in order to force it to a more reasonable attitude. All this is, frankly, no more than diplomatic guessing; but we may be confident that Lloyd George and the President did not act as they did, and at the time they chose, without a reasoned motive.

Neither the British Prime Minister nor the American President could have expected Germany to accept the terms now offered without altering them one jot. The principles laid down must be accepted; their application in detail is a matter for adjustment. There are several burning questions, the Balkans, the German colonies, the Turkish and Austrian provinces seeking autonomy, Alsace-Lorraine—this last, one of special danger and doubt for the United States. To all these problems it might be agreed to apply the statesmanlike solution proposed by the British Labor Party. Its view was that not every vexed territorial and national dispute could be settled outright at the peace conference, and its plan was to create a sort of international commission, with jurisdiction over this class of disagreements, with power to bring about in the end, after a period of years it might be, an amicable settlement. This could certainly be done for the colonies. We think it might be done for Alsace-Lorraine. But first we must know if Germany is willing to listen to reason.

# Secretary Baker's Defence

AS our readers are aware, the *Nation* has had a high opinion of Secretary Baker as an executive officer. It has had no sympathy whatever with the demands for his resignation which come from newspapers like the Kansas City *Star*. We have not felt, of course, that he had wholly succeeded in demonstrating his ability to cope with the almost impossible task set him of reorganizing the antiquated and hopelessly unbusinesslike War Department while war is on; time has yet to show if he can last longer than have the numerous War Ministers of Europe. But we felt that he brought vigor and a keen understanding, boundless industry and enthusiasm, to his task, and have hoped that ere long he would find himself so completely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

master of his job that he would undertake the radical and far-reaching reorganization the situation calls for if we are to conduct this war with even moderate efficiency.

It is with genuine regret, therefore, that we have read the reports of his appearances before the Senate Committee, at which, it is true, he gave proof of such nimble wit as to make it plain that the cross-examining Senators did not bring home anything directly to the Secretary. But what is regrettable is the general attitude of Mr. Baker. That self-praise goes but a little way is an old adage; it was in extremely bad taste for the Secretary to assume the attitude that wonders have been achieved, and that we should be exulting over what the War Department has accomplished. There is nothing more dangerous in a situation like this than the old American habit of boasting; we are too content with ourselves, as a rule, too sure that we are going to accomplish miracles where others have failed. Bragging by the War Department was certainly never more out of place than to-day, when the public is perfectly well aware that there have been a number of serious blunders, when American soldiers have been dying by hundreds in our cantonments of pneumonia invited by lack of clothing.

Now, it may be that many of these blunders were unavoidable, and that the Secretary is justified in feeling that no other country would have done so well. It may be that he is correct in saying that the army which we have raised in nine months' time is a greater achievement than that accomplished by Lord Kitchener, but comparisons are odious at best, and many will disagree with him. Nevertheless, it seems to us that his attitude was rather unfortunate. This is not the time for a Cabinet officer in the face of the record to assume an attitude either of self-satisfaction or of defiance. There is still too much to be done, still too much to be proved, for Mr. Baker fittingly to display any other quality than that of humility in the face of the gigantic military task that still confronts the nation.

Thus he speaks of having raised a great army; but there is no army to-day, merely large bodies of uniformed or half-uniformed men under training by men who are in the bulk themselves of the slightest experience. The very troops that we have sent to France have had so large a percentage of recruits among them as to make it necessary to train them from the very beginning. Now, if this was not the time for Mr. Baker to bring out the difficulties of the situation, to dwell upon the magnitude of the tasks rather than applying adjectives to what has been achieved, it is at least disappointing that there is no hint in the press accounts of his hearing—which may, of course, do him injustice—of any recognition on his part of what the War Department conditions call for in the way of a radical reorganization. In the *New Republic* Mr. William Hard has set forth the situation there with great clearness. "Mr. Baker," he says, "you are clever. You can think. Well, act. Stop sorting trifles and shuffling generals and tinkering, and *rebuild your Department.*" He points out that the vital defects of the system are the want of planning, the total lack of adequate organization, and asserts that new quartermaster-generals, new chiefs of ordnance and of artillery, will be but victims like their predecessors to the "horrible disorganization" of the War Department.

What is our project, he asks; what is our plan, how many men and how much equipment and for what dates? He asserts that there are no answers to these questions. The difficulty is that the Administration itself does not seem to know, that we hear one day that we are to send a million men to France, and the next day that we are not to, because food is a more pressing matter. Meanwhile, as every one is aware who looks underneath the surface, there is grave confusion in the Quartermaster's Department; we read of vital supplies being dumped upon the meadows for lack of space for storage and because of the existing disorganization of the railways. For the latter Mr. Baker is, of course, not personally accountable, though the War Department's priority orders had a good deal to do with the collapse; for the other conditions he has manfully assumed the responsibility. The pity of it is that the whole tone of Mr. Baker's testimony is so complacent, because so few blunders have been made, as to force one to question whether he even realizes what is staring him in the face.

## "Self-Determination"

THE now famous article 2 of the Teutonic peace proposals at Brest-Litovsk is a characteristic example of German diplomacy in its skill for scoring a point but missing the heart of a situation. Here were the Bolshevik rulers of Russia proclaiming the gospel of complete self-determination for every race in the former Empire. How clever for Czernin and Kühlmann to turn upon the Bolsheviki and point out that Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Livonia, Esthonia, a mighty territory stretching from the mouth of the Niemen to the gates of Petrograd, had expressed their will for a full state of "independence and separation" from Russia. Having so spoken, these lands, by the Bolshevik definition, were not Russian. Therefore, the evacuation of Russian soil by the Teutonic armies did not come into question; *Q. E. D.* Faced by this bit of grim humor, even the rigorous Bolshevik psychology discovered that in realizing a principle of abstract justice the method of procedure is of considerable importance. Just how definite was the expression of the will of the people in the lands of the Lithuanians and the Letts of which the Germans invited the Russian Government to take cognizance? Trotzky must have been aware that sometimes the will of the people needs interpretation. The Bolsheviki are now themselves engaged in demonstrating that the will of the people may be more truly expressed by a dictatorship of the proletariat founded on a military *coup* than by a regularly elected Constituent Assembly. But as against Germany they have raised the opposite principle that there can be no true expression of the will of the people under military duress.

Yet it is hard to believe that even with the presence of their armies in these border lands, even in the absence of a large part of the native population now refugees in the interior of Russia and Siberia, the Germans expect that a popular referendum would give them Lithuania or the Baltic provinces. Even in Courland, the most German of these Russian provinces, the German element is less than 9 per cent. of the population, though the nobility and part of the city population are German. More than 80 per cent. are of the Lettish race. In Livonia the Germans are 8 per cent. of the population, and the Letts and Esths are nearly 90 per cent. In Esthonia the proportion is about the same. In Lithuania, comprising the three provinces of Kovno, Vilna, and Suwalki, the Germans are less than 2 per cent. of the population. No conceivable plébiscite, short of the ghastliest of farces, can be imagined as giving these lands

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the Kaiser. But what German pressure might hope to prevent is that these lands, having declared their independence, might yet choose to remain in some sort of Federal connection with the Russian republic; precisely as the "independent" Ukraine has been electing delegates to the Russian Constituent Assembly. Such an outcome is not only probable from the fact that the leaders of the Lithuanians and the Letts have been comrades of the Russian people in a common struggle for freedom, and that the old ties would persist. There is the further consideration that only in the province of Kovno are the Lithuanians in an absolute majority.

The difficulties in the way of self-determination by any racial group are fully manifest. Of the three Lithuanian provinces, Kovno, Vilna, and Suwalki, the Lithuanian race has 75 per cent. of the population in the first, 18 per cent. in the second, and 52 per cent. in the third. How is the plébiscite to be taken? For the three provinces as a unit, the Lithuanians, though in a minority, might conceivably rally a majority for independence under the pull of historic traditions. If the provinces vote separately, then Vilna, the heart of Lithuania, might decide to stay with Russia, while Kovno would be certainly independent and Suwalki probably so. Yet this last province illustrates a further entanglement. Suwalki, under the Russian rule, has been part of the Kingdom of Poland. Will the new independent Poland permit Suwalki to detach itself, or will it insist on keeping the province in spite of the fact that the Poles are less than 25 per cent. of the population? For herself Germany has rejected the principle of self-determination. She will not argue about Posen, with a Polish population of more than 60 per cent., and West Prussia, with a Polish population of 33 per cent., is presumably out of the question. But suppose for the sake of the argument that Germany consented to a referendum in West Prussia. If that province voted as a unit, it would stay with Germany. If it voted by districts, there are solid Polish blocks which might declare for a reunion with Poland.

Such considerations emphasize the statesmanlike programme put forth by the British Labor Party, which would leave the difficult problem of self-determination of peoples to be worked out at leisure under the super-national authority which it demands as one of the essential conditions of world reconstruction.

# Not the Usual German Professor

SCATTERED notices have appeared in the American press of a book published a few weeks ago by Professor Nicolai, of the University of Berlin. It was printed in Zurich, under the title "The Biology of War." For the opinions expressed in it, the daring author was confined five months in a fortress—in order, we suppose, to show how securely academic freedom (*Lehrfreiheit*) is established in Germany. Dr. Nicolai's volume has fallen into the hands of William Archer, and he gives a long summary of it, with copious extracts, in the *Westminster Gazette*.

The particular iniquity of "Die Biologie des Krieges" is that it is a bold, scientific turning of the tables on those German savants who have demonstrated the necessity of war. This necessity, according to them, besides being historic and racial, springs from the deep and fundamental instincts of man. Speaking socially, they say that war is based on human biology. There is the need of armed struggle to prove what nations are fit to survive. Bernhardi used the precise phrase, the "biological justice" of the decisions of war. And Treitschke spoke of war as a "drastic medicine for ailing humanity." But now comes a doctor of medicine and professor of psychology in the University of Berlin, to tear up all such notions by the root. Against the "scientific" defence of war he directs the big guns of real science. Take, for example, his exposure of the stock argument that war does for men and nations what "selection" does in Nature—that is, secures and establishes the best types. Says Professor Nicolai:

> The selection effected by war has in these days become negative selection, and modern conditions are most artfully devised to deprive it of all biological usefulness. The result of universal military service in particular is that it is precisely the fittest who succumb.

As for the ineradicable "fighting instinct," Dr. Nicolai declares that, in the modern world, it is the survival, such as may be seen in some species, of an instinct which was at one time useful, but which, unmodified, is a positive handicap and danger. The species that cannot adapt its instincts to a changed environment dies out. This German professor puts the case as follows: "One race of animals after another has perished because it *could* not change. Is man now to perish because he *will* not change?" It is the development of the human brain that enables, or ought to enable, man to abandon an organ no longer needed. And progress depends upon the best brains triumphing over the poorer. Here is Professor Nicolai's doctrine, with its implication of the stupidity which has been swaying the world for the past three years:

> Man is free to develop on all sides; but—this is the one imperative condition—the development of the brain must be promoted if the movement of humanity is to be a forward movement. In other words, every victory of the man of sense over the blockhead means progress, and is a sign of positive selection; every victory of the blockhead over the man of sense means retrogression, and is a sign of negative selection.

If the German professor had confined himself to abstract reasoning of this sort, it might not have gone so hard with him. His scientific colleagues would doubtless have frowned upon him, but the military authorities would scarcely have come down on him. The audacious man, however, undertook to make practical application of his principles, with horrifying results. He showed how the glorification of war led directly to its being made ever more barbarous and ghastly. Professor Nicolai writes:

> A short time ago, one of our most highly cultivated soldiers (who shall remain unnamed, on account of his great services . . .) asked me if it would not be possible to throw bombs filled with cholera germs or plague bacilli behind the enemy front. When I replied that this seemed neither a profitable nor a very humane proceeding, he replied, with a contemptuous gesture: "What have we to do with humanity in this war? Germany has a right to do whatever she pleases."

War, also, as an imperious necessity, tends to override and break down all those "self-limitations" which nations as well as men have sought to put upon brute passions. Nothing is allowed to stand in the way of the attainment of military objects. The professor summarizes the treaties and Hague agreements which Germany has violated in this war and concludes:

> Whatever one may think of the value and significance of such conventions—after they are once concluded all discussion of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them must cease, for henceforth any breach of them not only damages the enemy, but inflicts irreparable injury on one's own honor.

Therefore there has been nothing so melancholy in this war as the violation of Belgian neutrality, the U-boat campaign, and the use of suffocating gases.

For these things are fatal, not only to human life, but to human honor.

We give one more passage to show how near the professor, living under the very eye of the Kaiser, came to flagrant *Majestätsbeleidigung:*

The belief that God gives His assistance in war has long been on the wane. We know that "God is on the side of the big battalions." Nevertheless, the idea that something like justice prevails in war appears to be ineradicable, although a very little reflection shows that confidence in "the just cause" can only rest on a belief in the active intervention of a higher principle representing justice.

The cultured believer will scarcely hold that this just and almighty principle can be swayed by the force of arms. But the uncultured and superstitious man, who thinks he can exploit his God for his egoistic ends, will still use Him as the palladium of his right, whether real or imaginary.

Dr. Nicolai, it is needless to add, did not sign the famous manifesto of the ninety-three German professors, though asked to do so—doubtless like most of those who did sign—by an official telegram. But his book certainly contains matter to give the ninety-three furiously to think.

# Republicans Tuning Up

IT would hardly be correct to say that the Republicans have won the first skirmish of the political battle of 1918, to look no farther ahead, but there must be a vast deal of quiet satisfaction among the leaders over the result of the vote on woman suffrage in the House. Republicans were on the winning side with a vengeance, five out of six voting for the amendment, while their traditional opponents were almost evenly divided. It is thus the literal truth that the Federal amendment conferring votes upon women owes its passage in the House much more to the Republican party than to the Democratic. True, the Democratic votes against it were Southern rather than partisan, but that is only to say that the Democratic party is still the party of the Solid South, and must take the disadvantages of that fact along with the advantages. It cannot be denied that Republican leaders were quick to see the political bearing of the contest over the amendment, and that their attitude towards it alarmed some of the Democratic leaders, who in turn attempted to alarm the rest. More to the point is the question whether the Republican position upon the amendment is a sign of reviving intelligence in the party of the opposition.

We may be better equipped to answer that question when the Republican National Committee has adjourned after its meeting in St. Louis, which is to be held on Lincoln's Birthday. George W. Perkins is out in full panoply against what he terms "the Old Guard," which he says is plotting something unpleasant for Chairman Willcox. He advises Mr. Willcox to fight. Gov. Whitman announces himself as on the same side of the fence. It will be interesting to see whether the Old Guard is still alive and whether it proposes to "put something over" on the National Committee and the party. It has been manifest for some time that those who hold the reins believe that a Republican House can be elected this autumn if only the proper strategy is employed. The broad lines of that strategy are obvious. To pillory the Administration, not for the President's words, but for a supposed gap between them and the deeds of his subordinates; to indict Congress for having fallen so far short of what a Republican Congress would have accomplished; in a word, to mingle loud professions of loyalty to the President with maledictions of what has been done or not done by his Administration—this is the programme. One item in it has already been definitely forecast in Senator Sherman's prompt attack upon Wilson's proposal to remove economic barriers and institute freer trade relations among nations. If this means free trade, he announces, the Republican party cannot stomach it.

Republican strategists are heartened by the composition of the last few Congresses. While the Administration won in the off election of 1914, it lost sixty seats in the House and suffered a reduction in its plurality from 163 to 34. The ominous feature of that election for the Democrats was that in districts in which the Republicans had made their peace with the Progressives, they were likely to win. It is quite in keeping with our topsy-turvy politics of the past half-dozen years that, having, contrary to tradition, retained the House in an off election, the Administration came within an ace of losing it on the day when the President was reëlected. One more push, one can almost hear the Republican war council saying, and Champ Clark must make way for a Republican.

This would, therefore, seem to be the worst possible moment for the appearance of a weekly journal at Cleveland with the name the *Stand-Patter*, describing itself as "an organ of the Republican party and journal of politics, history, and literature." For it accepts not merely the epithet that is the chief word of its title, but also the things for which the epithet stands. "Let's forget George William Curtis, and remember good old Thaddeus Stevens," it adjures its readers. "The time has come," it declares, "for a regular Republican paper, which is devoted solely to the best interests of the Grand Old Party, without catering to a lot of non-partisan advertisers, to rise up in righteous anger and smite the rotten old Democratic party hip and thigh . . . . to tell the brutally frank, cold, absolutely candid truth about it—without lying, because God knows the truth is damaging enough about the Democratic party."

For a Republican in a State which, after supplying four Republican Presidents, went for Wilson in 1916 by 90,000, this language cannot be criticised as wanting boldness. In the same tone is a reference to "good old Uncle Joe Cannon," with Representative Sulloway's bellicose declaration during the "insurgent" outbreak of 1910: "I am for Cannon—no popguns need apply." The editor of the *Stand-Patter* even quotes with implied approval Senator Bradley's retort to the challenge, "You voted for Lorimer!" "Yes, I voted for Lorimer, and when I did, I voted for a better man than any of you!" The little misunderstanding of 1912, which Republicans generally have agreed to try to forget, this Ohioan pleasantly resurrects in the remark that Taft was renominated by a majority of 21, "561 honorable gentlemen voting for Taft and 540 fools voting for the Big Noise." Unless some clever Democrat, carefully concealed, is directing the *Stand-Patter*, the Republican tuning up is not altogether promising for the harmony that, once characteristic of the party, has been so difficult to recapture since the return in 1910 of a certain African explorer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Mania in Los Angeles

By WILLIAM EMMETT

THE student of social pathology cannot fail to take notice these days of the unheard-of human reversions to brute panic and excesses. The East St. Louis massacre is a blot upon the pages of our history. But from the point of view of intellectual progress, mental epidemics, such as are now sweeping over Los Angeles, are fraught with even greater danger. War hysteria has reached a height at which sane men must stand aghast. Press, pulpit, people, and courts, even, seem equally mad with war-frenzy.

The thing began to come to a head during the recent visit of Billy Sunday, who daily offered to God the most ferocious prayers for the destruction of Germany and the extermination of every German. The Rev. Chas. Edward Locke, pastor of the First M. E. Church, preached that pacifists were worse than pro-Germans, and that all of them should be exported to Berlin. The city authorities fell in line with the popular mania. A so-called Loyal League was formed under the leadership of Major Judson, to go gunning for any one that should pronounce the word "peace" in any manner.

A handful of Christian ministers, mostly from the northern part of the State, being grieved at the continuous preaching of the gospel of hate, decided to hold at Long Beach a conference to emphasize a broader view of humanity and to attract other Christian ministers to a saner view of things. The programme, one of the most innocuous conceivable, bore the title: "Conference of Christian Pacifists: a Religious Meeting, Non-Political and Non-Obstructive." It was announced to discuss such books as "Why Men Fight," by Bertrand Russell, and "Newer Ideals of Peace," by Jane Addams.

The Long Beach Council of Defence, together with the Mayor and police, decided that they would not allow pacifist meetings of any kind. They refused to look at the programme or the names of the speakers; and yet by intimidation prevented every owner of a hall from allowing its use for the meetings. The original organizer of the conference, Rev. Floyd Hardin, pastor of a Methodist church, thought that there would be less prejudice in Los Angeles, and so obtained a hall there. The Los Angeles police, however, decided to break up any peace meetings before they should get started at all. So they placed officers at the hall and, without giving reason for their action, refused entrance to any one. But the Christian Pacifists meantime obtained a small room in the Douglas building for a meeting chiefly of the out-of-town delegates.

The action of the police seems a bit ridiculous in view of the fact that at no time was there any prospect of the conference being attended by more than a few dozen people. Even with the free advertising the police action brought the conference, at no time were more than twenty-five or thirty people present besides the police officers and secret service men. The meetings lasted three days and were finally held in private homes, but no arrests were made except at the first meeting in the Douglas building. Here Rev. Floyd Hardin, Rev. Robert Whitaker, pastor of a Baptist church, and Harold Storey, a Quaker theological student, were arrested and were later released on bail. Otherwise the meetings were not interfered with by the police or the Federal officers, who were present throughout. A Federal officer placed on the stand during the trial stated that he had been delegated to arrest any speaker making seditious remarks, but found nothing that would warrant his making an arrest.

The trial of the three men arrested, which has just been concluded in the Los Angeles police court, Judge Thomas P. White presiding, is probably the climax of perversity in American jurisprudence. The men were found guilty of "holding an unlawful meeting," "refusing to disperse when so ordered by the officer," and "disturbing the peace." The judge sentenced each defendant to six months in the county jail and $1,200 fine.

The prosecution made use of statements like the following, alleged to have been made by the prisoners, some time or other at some place or other, for it was not pretended that they had said these things at the meeting where the arrest was made. First, Mr. Harold Storey, in a sermon on the text, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," was accused of saying that it was difficult for many Christians to conceive of the carpenter of Nazareth thrusting a bayonet into the breast of a brother. Secondly, the Rev. Floyd Hardin was alleged to have said at another meeting that he would prefer to go into eternity with his own blood on his hands rather than with that of a brother. Thirdly, the Rev. Robert Whitaker was accused of having said somewhere that under certain circumstances he would prefer the ideals of the Bolsheviki or of the I. W. W. to those of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association. These were the traitorous utterances which were alleged against the defendants themselves.

Much extraneous evidence was brought before the jury, as, for instance, this: At the meeting in the Douglas building the Christian Pacifists had borrowed from an adjoining office a typewriter desk in the drawer of which a copy of *The Masses* was found; though it was established that none of the defendants nor any one in the audience knew of its presence, or even knew the magazine itself, yet this magazine was the first piece of evidence handed to the jurors and intently studied. A copy of an up-State country newspaper was found containing a report of a speech by Walter Thomas Mills last summer in San Francisco in which he said that President Wilson had the "fear of God in his heart and needed it." Bishop Paul Jones, of Salt Lake, had prayed somewhere, "God forgive them, for they know not what they do"—in supposed reference to the war. The Rev. Sidney Strong, of Seattle, had distributed copies of the Sermon on the Mount and quoted the words, "If thine enemy smite thee upon one cheek, turn to him the other also." The attorneys for the defence objected to the introduction of this kind of evidence, but Judge White apparently ruled that all peace propaganda was in effect the same kind, and that therefore anything said anywhere at any time against war or for peace would establish the nature of the conference.

The jury consisted of three men and nine women. All of them stated it as their conviction that the right of free speech did not extend to the discussion of peace while the country was at war, but declared their belief that they could

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give the defendants a fair trial, and stated that they would clear them in case the Court should instruct the jury that the defendants had not transgressed the law. Both jury and judge, apparently, were entirely under the influence of the ideas now predominant in the community, viz., that it is traitorous to talk, or pray to God, for peace. One clergyman, by the way, wrote to the Los Angeles *Times* thus: "The reply of the Christian clergyman to the weakling of to-day is that Jesus Christ was the man who first put the fist into pacifist. Yours for Christian service"!

The defence was ably conducted by Judges J. H. Ryckman and S. W. Packard, but their eloquent pleas availed nothing. The prosecuting attorney, Mr. Richards, admonished the jury that Jesus had said, "Bring hither mine enemies and slay them before me." "Some spunk to that," he added, and then continued: "Members of the jury, look upon these defendants. You know that if they were living in Germany and attempted to hold a peace meeting there, some fat Government official would put them into a meat-grinder and grind them into sausage to feed to their dachshunds. But we cannot do that here; we can only put them into jail."

The Los Angeles *Times* reports Judge White to have said during the trial that in saying that "the German soldiers were splendid fighters they actually did give comfort to the enemy, and in a measure caused disquiet among some Americans by these utterances." In his arraignment of the prisoners he said in substance that any one who teaches that Jesus of Nazareth would not fight is using religion as a cloak for seditious and traitorous propaganda, for this war is the Holy War of God, and since the state derives its authority from God, the United States had gone into this war at the command of God, and he that resisteth the state resisteth God. In sentencing the prisoners, Judge White declared that "now the people of Los Angeles were giving notice through the courts to all the world that they would tolerate no peace meetings within their city, and that he would make a public example of these men to deter others from preaching their pernicious doctrines there."

The temper of the community is clearly seen in the many letters to the press, which appear almost daily. Not only do the people oppose German music, language, and literature, but some are insistently demanding that there shall be no observance of Christmas, since the Germans keep Christmas; any one who has a Christmas tree or sings "peace and good will on earth" this year shall be considered a pro-German and a pacifist and shall be adequately punished. Major Judson has pledged his organization to oppose any kind of "pacifist noise" in Los Angeles. The authorities are openly abetting violence in the name of patriotism. A certain Colonel Blake was put on the stand during the trial as a hero because he had broken up a prayer-meeting in a private home in Pasadena, though he declared he did not know who or what pacifists were, but he did not want that kind around in his city.

The three convicted Christian ministers are men of little means; while they are bravely attempting to appeal their case to a higher court, it is doubtful that they can procure the money necessary for even the initial expense. The feeling in the community is such that persons can come to their aid only at considerable risk to themselves. Probably the city of the Angels will thus have the historic distinction of having sent three inoffensive Christian ministers to jail for three years for having prayed to the God of heaven that the blessing of peace might again come back to earth.

The serious aspect of such mania as that of Los Angeles is that it is known in Germany and Russia. President Wilson has earnestly tried to appeal to the German people against their rulers, but these appeals will come to naught if the German people only see us in our unreasoning fury as a mad bull, against whom they must fight to the uttermost.

# Personnel, the Fundamental War Problem

By JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL

I

THANKS to the newspaper press with its keen appetite for the sensational—and the obvious—public attention has been largely centred upon those war problems which relate to material equipment, to the neglect of all consideration of personnel, except such as is represented by a few shining marks in the Cabinet and at the head of army bureaus. How are we to get ships, guns, and aeroplanes in the necessary numbers and with the requisite promptness? How are we to obtain adequate clothing and housing for our troops? These are the questions most often asked, and if General Crozier and General Sharpe and Secretary Baker and the members of the Shipping Board come in for scathing indictment because they are alleged to have failed in some one or more particulars connected with these matters, it is with a view to the instant application of remedies (upon which, be it noted, no two critics are wholly agreed), rather than because of any general recognition that the great underlying problem confronting the nation in this war business is one of personnel, its intelligent selection, its incessant testing and re-testing. We are told, to be sure, that guns will be forthcoming when proper men are put in charge of the Ordnance Department; adequate clothing will be promptly supplied when the Quartermaster-General is competent for his job. Yet how to ascertain where these much-desired military paragons are to be found, how to obtain impeccably efficient successors to General Crozier and General Sharpe, the critic saith not. Apparently it is a purely "trial and error" procedure to which he looks. Try one man after another until a successful one is found, and let dismissal be prompt and merciless unless success is instant.

Meantime another aspect of the case is wholly missed—and one which is absolutely fundamental to our successful prosecution of the war. This is the selection and distribution of personnel throughout the entire army organization in a manner to secure for each individual his maximum effectiveness. It is not simply a question of selecting the most competent heads of bureaus, although Heaven knows this is important; nor is it merely a question of judicious staff selections, though who shall overestimate the importance of this? It is a question of putting every private where he can serve best, making sure that the non-commissioned officers are the most efficient that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be found, and that every incompetent commissioned officer shall, the moment his incompetency is detected, be instantly dropped or transferred to some post for which he is fitted. No officer must be promoted whose record does not make it clear that he can successfully discharge the duties of the higher rank. In the old army the officer was, unless in wholly exceptional cases requiring action by the President and Congress, promoted by seniority. In our new armies promotion is to be by merit. Clearly this policy demands a well-considered machinery by which selection for promotion may be made, devices which will, on the one hand, protect against the eccentric judgments of single individuals, and, on the other hand, prevent a mere relapse through inertia into the older and more easily administered system of advancement by seniority.

II

To secure these several ends there has been at work since last summer, under appointment by the Secretary of War, a civilian Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army, certain of whose activities are deserving of general publicity. The committee has been attached to the office of the Adjutant-General, and has been under the direct jurisdiction of General McCain, its chief. Space will permit mention of only two of the lines of work thus far undertaken.

The modern army, as we are rapidly coming to appreciate, is a highly complex organism requiring in addition to its strictly fighting forces large numbers of men expert in one or another of the trades and industries. We do not here refer to the great industrial plants necessary for the production of armament, munitions, and supplies, but solely to the actual needs of the army itself as a self-sustaining fighting force. Cooks, bakers, farriers, electricians, automobile repair men, chauffeurs, mechanics of all kinds, carpenters, horsemen, harness makers, telephone, telegraph, and radio men—the list is almost endless, and when the figures are compiled, it appears that every fully equipped combatant force must have, roughly, a third of its number made up of these "experts."

The old "regular army," like the armies of Europe, having been recruited at leisure and in times of peace, was, of course, able to care for these matters as occasion arose. The problem presented by the creation overnight of an entire new force like the National Army is of quite another order. Where and how shall the necessary gas-engine experts be found, where the radio and telegraph operators? What are we to do if under the operation of the draft there should be a serious deficiency of men of a certain kind, say, lumbermen, in the divisions of one part of the country, and a considerable excess in those of another? Suppose General Pershing suddenly needs 1,000 car-builders, 2,000 mechanics, 100 chauffeurs who can speak French, where and how is the army to find them?

To answer all these questions and help solve the many problems therewith connected, the committee already mentioned devised the following plan, which has been constantly undergoing improvement and modification as the result of actual experience in the camps.

In each National Army and National Guard camp an officer was appointed to have charge of the work, and to assist him during the first few weeks an expert civilian employment manager was supplied.* These civilians came from certain of the important industrial and mercantile concerns of the country. Before beginning work, these officers and civilians were brought together in "coaching schools" where the system to be used was explained and discussed, and, so far as possible, methods were devised for meeting anticipated difficulties. In the camps themselves many additional men were detailed by the military authorities, the number naturally varying with the exigencies of the case. In certain instances it ran to approximately 300. The procedure was substantially as follows:

Every enlisted man was brought before the personnel officers and supplied with a 5x8 card on which were entered various questions regarding his education, his previous military experience, his last civilian occupation, the length of time he had pursued it, his monthly salary, any other occupations he might previously have followed, etc., etc. These questions were all designed to ascertain as precisely as possible what qualifications the soldier had that might be of value to the army, and to permit the assignment of him to the post for which he might seem best fitted.

While it is highly important to obtain information of this character, its value is proportional to the promptness with which it can be made available when needed. To obtain the quickest possible access to it, an ingenious indexing arrangement was devised. Some forty of the occupations most in demand by the army are listed on the card and numbers are assigned to them. Across the upper edge of the card the same numbers appear in a horizontal row. By means of little celluloid markers, which can be gummed to the card, there is conspicuously indicated the trade or occupation in which each man is most skilled. If a man possesses two or more trades, that in which he is most skilled, *e. g.*, mechanic, is indicated by a green marker; any in which he is competent but less skilled, *e. g.*, gas-engine repair, with an orange marker. These cards are placed alphabetically in boxes which fit snugly, and when so arranged all the markers corresponding to any special occupation stand in line one behind the other. Thus, to find all the electricians in a regiment requires only the time necessary to lift all the cards in the line marked 10—perhaps two minutes. The special space at the bottom of the card marked "S" is provided for entries of trades or occupations not listed. The cards marked in this space are indexed separately or treated as local exigencies rendered most convenient.

At frequent intervals the personnel officers report to Washington, giving the total number of men in the camps, the number listed under each occupation, etc. In this way the central office is kept in constant touch with the situation in all the camps. Transfers from one division to another can be made intelligently. General Pershing's requests for special troops can be promptly and intelligently executed, and the distribution of men inside each division can be readily made to comply with the necessities of its several units.

Not least important of the consequences of the system is the fact that it often makes it possible to assign a man to a job in which he has some natural interest—an item of no mean consequence in maintaining morale, especially in the early stages of a man's army experience, when he is

*The system was first introduced into the National Army, and was there found so useful that it was shortly afterward put into the National Guard also.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

likely to suffer most from homesickness and depression. On the other hand, it is fair to say that many men who are expert in sedentary occupations, such as bookkeeping, are very anxious to see active service, and they are, in consequence, tempted to employ indirection, lest they find themselves anchored in a stuffy office at a base with, as they suppose, no opportunity for promotion.

An interesting feature of the work now in process of perfection consists in the establishment of so-called trade tests. Bitter experience has shown that a man will sometimes report himself as an expert mechanic whose qualifications, on closer examination, prove to be of a much more modest kind. To transfer such a man from one division to another in need of a *bona-fide* expert involves loss of time, money, and temper. These misleading statements are doubtless in some cases quite free of intent to deceive. It is, however, proposed to make such a result substantially impossible by installing in each division facilities for determining quickly by a practical test, at least in the case of the more important and more highly skilled trades, just what each man is really capable of doing. In this way we shall avoid the blunder occasionally made in the earlier stages of our experience.

Intrinsically excellent as the whole plan is, and indispensable as it has proved itself in organizing the army, it has not been without its drawbacks. In the National Army camps particularly the system has worked harm as well as good. If General Pershing cables for 2,000 expert mechanics to be sent abroad at once, every one regards the order as entitled to precedence over all other considerations. Under the system described, it is perfectly possible to locate these men and to distribute the burden so that it shall not fall with undue severity on any one camp. But suppose (and this kind of thing has happened repeatedly) that in filling this order it takes a large percentage of the best non-commissioned officers out of several regiments, leaving the distracted colonels and captains to start all over again in training their hopelessly raw levies. Repeat this process once or twice and you generate in the officers responsible for the division a state of mind not capable of expression in terms meeting Mr. Burleson's high standards for the United States mail. You also stimulate protective coloration, camouflage, conditions where skimmed milk masquerades as cream—devices by which mechanics appear as preachers, automobile experts as vehicle agents, and the like.

Needless to say, this situation was early appreciated, and the central office at Washington has done everything it could to mitigate the difficulty, which is, of course, inherent in any such sudden attempt as that we have made to create and equip *instanter* a great modern army. Unfortunately, the classification system we have been describing has been charged to some extent with responsibility for these untoward consequences. It is only fair to say, however, that without the system the difficulties would have been indefinitely multiplied and would have been far more serious in character.

## III

A card is now being perfected, the first forms being already in service in some branches of the army, to accomplish in the case of the officers a somewhat similar result in the selection and assignment of especially qualified individuals. The use of this card is to be combined with the rating system* which was employed in the Officers' Training Camps, and the two may be conveniently mentioned together.

In the old Regular Army, with its relatively small numbers, the selection of men qualified for special service of one kind or another has presented no insuperable difficulties, and as promotion has been by seniority, a rating system has been practically out of the question. Even the efficiency records, which have been in use for a few years, seem to have produced very little effect upon actual army procedure. But, with the creation of our present army, two necessities at once present themselves. In the first place, as has already been noted, promotion is not to be by seniority, but ostensibly by merit, so that some device is all but indispensable in order to introduce reasonable uniformity into the methods of selection for promotion and to minimize the eccentricities of particular commanding officers. In the second place, it is quite essential that the most comprehensive and accurate information be promptly available where officers are needed for special technical details. Here, for example, is an officer who has been the chief engineer in an automobile factory. To use him as a lieutenant of infantry when the air division of the Signal Corps is ransacking the country for such a man is an obvious waste of energy and human material. The card system which the committee has provided will enable a complete index of all important qualifications, both those which relate to previous military experience (*e. g.*, training in an artillery school) and those which, acquired in civil life, like engineering, can be carried over more or less directly into army service.

The rating which is contemplated involves two cardinal principles. The first is the explicit analysis of essential qualities. A man is graded on five different characteristics which military men generally agree are most important, to wit, physique, intelligence, leadership, character, and general value to the service. These rubrics are carefully defined so that a minimum of leeway is afforded to purely individualistic interpretation of the terms. The rating officer is thus obliged to analyze his man with some care, instead of contenting himself with a rough general verdict. The characteristics are weighted: the first four carry equal values and total three-fifths of the entire scale; the fifth carries a weight of two-fifths. This weighting is, of course, arbitrary, but it represents the consensus of a large body of military opinion. The second principle is that of concrete, personal comparison. The man to be rated is compared with five other officers under each of the five headings. These need not be the same officers in each case. Under physique, for example, the rating officer chooses five other officers in the service whom he knows well and who represent variations from the most perfect to the least perfect. He tries to choose one officer who shall rank in this regard midway between the best and the worst. He then tries to choose a fourth who shall rank between the best and the third, and another who shall rank between the third and the worst. Numerical values are assigned these men as follows: highest 15, high 12, middle 9, low 6, lowest 3. The man to be rated is assigned the numerical value of the officer in the scale whom he is judged most nearly to resemble. The same thing is done with each of the other four characteristics. But as has been stated above, a new

*The system is a modification of one first elaborated by Dr. W. D. Scott for use in the selection of salesmen. The modifications have been introduced by him chiefly as the result of conferences with large numbers of army officers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

group of officers may be used for each part of the scale. Moreover, as has been also indicated, the numerical values attached to the fifth qualification, *i. e.*, general value to the service, are 40, 32, 24, 16, 8.

If the system is operated as intended, no officer will be promoted who does not rank above the median or average of the men with whom he is compared—men selected from one or two ranks above him. Moreover, in the lower ranks at least, several officers will have an opportunity to pass on the rating assigned any particular man. For example, a captain will rate his lieutenants, but the major and his colonel will have an opportunity to revise the rating, if they desire. Experience shows that the combined judgment of several is in the long run materially more accurate than the judgment of any single individual, however competent.

How far under active service conditions any such device may be found necessary or practicable is open to question, with prevailing military opinion strongly negative. But for the present and while the troops are in this country, any system that will expedite the elimination of the obviously unfit and the promotion of the most competent must be hailed with enthusiasm. It means the saving of endless amounts of money, thousands of lives, and inestimable human suffering.

IV

It is impossible to speak of investigations which are in progress looking towards the more intelligent selection of personnel for the Aviation Service. It is also impracticable to discuss the closely related work of psychological examination carried on in four of the National Army camps by Major Yerkes under the authority of the Surgeon-General's office. Extension of this work has just been authorized by the General Staff to all the army camps. Sundry other enterprises which are afoot must also be passed over. Suffice it to say that the officers at the head of the army are showing a keen and growing appreciation of the necessity for perfecting at every point the technique of selection, not only for special details of one kind and another, but for the filling of every post from top to bottom in the army organization.

# Dionysus in Camp

By WALTER R. AGARD

*(Headquarters Troop, Camp Devens, Mass.)*

WHATEVER this war means to us in a political, economic, æsthetic, and moral way, one thing is perfectly clear: that quantitatively it is to religion's gain. More people are thronging the cathedrals of Europe now than in the piping times of peace; more men (including major-generals and clergy in high places) assure us that God is on our side, and more of us have the will to believe them; the question of what God is doing in the Great War is sadly puzzling simple-minded folk and troubling sensitive minds. We find from the letters and published books of soldiers at the front that they are now for the first time grasping the significance of life in a discovery of God. Emory Pottle, addressing Women's Clubs, Boy Scouts, and potential volunteers, with the artistry of simple and effective Oxonian pathos, assures us that the men "over there" aren't content any longer with the inherited religion; everything must be made over for them in that crucible, including God. Even Mr. Wells, who came scoffing when the war began, now remains to pray. We are furnished with the unique and not altogether welcome sight of that vigorous futurist suddenly "getting religion" and persuading himself that he is justified in so doing because his variety is as new and revolutionary as any social utopias or discoveries about men in the moon!

Quantitatively a gain, I say, but hardly a gain in quality. For surely no new and subtle conception of God has grown up in men's minds because of this world chaos. There are still the two God ideas, as of old: God the Judge and Avenger, who shall punish our enemies; God the Suffering Redeemer, through whom we find salvation. The stalwart clergymen of many a wealthy parish are crying to God the Avenger, whom we will recognize as the God of our fathers in very truth, the God of David, who is to confound the knavish tricks of those whose cause we hate. Mr. Wells, on the contrary, has of a sudden rediscovered God the Redeemer. It's a pity. For before this war even the most conservative of us were in the healthful process of getting rid of the ancient paraphernalia of salvation through some one else's suffering; we had actually begun, for instance, as Bouck White puts it, to see Jesus as "not the tortured God, but the joyous comrade, the friend of all simple souls; not the theologian, spinning barren sophistries, but the man of genius, the lover of warm life, and warm sunlight, and all that is fresh and pure and beautiful." We were getting concerned about a practical Christianity, caring to know what Jesus actually asked men to do, sensibly appreciating the beauty and ethical significance of his mode of living. And then came the war: and now Mr. Wells, religious reactionary, asks us again to believe the sad old dogma, rechristened, to be sure, but still in implication God the Suffering Redeemer, old as Knossos and the Stone Age, and still steeped in soft, mediæval candle-light.

No, the war has not made religion finer, given new insights and richer faith; it has simply done its customary job of reducing everything it touches to simple terms. Religion under the influence of the war has become more extensive, more sheerly emotional, more primitive.

So far the war has not stirred us in America enough to make us entirely forget our lately achieved religion of social duty and individual self-respect; but it doubtless will bring us back to the two elemental attitudes when the stress becomes more marked. In training camp we are so far no more changed religiously than are people outside. I am wondering how we are going to be affected. I hope we shall be original and courageous enough to grow in religious quality rather than merely revert. I hope, for instance, that we shall become Christian enough to be sympathetic with our fellows and to love our enemies. But that's a cause that many good-spirited and zealous-minded men are interested in and working for. I would raise my voice for another religion that is also sadly needed here in camp. Its devout followers are few; its "programme" unorganized; its very name hardly known. Yet it is as old and quite as fundamental (if not as respectable) as any of the others. I hope we shall go back to Dionysus.

For the chief need we have just now is not the vigor to be gained from an appeal to the God of Battles; we have stout hearts and fortified wills already. Nor is it the comfort of feeling that God is suffering with us (combined with the subtle satisfaction that he is as likely to fail as we

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are). What we in camp do need is lightness of spirit and quickness of imagination. For we are spiritually stupid, and we are likely to grow more so as time goes on. We have been well grounded in stupidity. The environment in which most of us have been raised has been built, with good intentions or bad, by mediocre minds; we have known the routine of a daily task, relieved by obvious excitements, but have hardly experienced a training in sensitive response of feeling to rare sights and sounds or a keen mental reaction to ideas. And then we came to camp, which, in spite of the Fosdick Commission and the Y. M. C. A., is hardly a centre of intellectual and æsthetic verve. No, our exacting business is to do things all day long, grind away at mechanical and simple jobs of mind and hand. It is honest enough work, but plainly not inspiring. Yet, granted the environment is not stimulating, why should we not, like Falstaff, turn diseases to commodities? We do try. But we are so little used to sensing commodities. We cannot twist our clumsy minds and dulled feeling to see significance in a sunset and the world in a drop of dew; to clash in fierce and brilliant battle with fencing-foils of argument; to keep flashingly live the wires of imagination. So we seem content—yet are not—with crude and obscene jokes; we listen with hardened and incredible patience to repetitions of "Naughty, Naughty, Naughty" on the victrola and "I Don't Want to Get Well" on the player-piano; we sit at draw poker with passive faces; we skim through jaded novels or struggle into books on military manœuvres; we eat; we sleep.

I was swamped by all this until yesterday morning, when I woke up laughing. For I had suddenly thought of Dionysus. I remembered the picture of him on an old Exekias vase; he was sitting with tranquil and restrained mirth in a little boat; a trellis of grapes served for mast, and lithesome little fishes tumbled through the water under the shadow of his sail. It was all so lightsome and gay, so debonair and instinct with finesse, so in contrast with the crudeness of our living here, that I laughed in sheer relief. "There's a religion for camp," flashed mockingly through my mind, and intoxicated second thought merely reaffirmed it. In two ways I know Dionysus is needed here. He, you remember, was the sensationally sensitive Spring God, who came with dance and song from the east, bringing with him vitality and power, vigor and the charm of youth, inspiration that confounds the world's wise. Oh, that somehow we might get the spirit of Dionysus, be drunk "with wine not from the belly of the grape," but from satiating one's soul in color of the sky and music of memory, in quick perception and gay reasoning! Enviable indeed are the Bacchanals, experiencers of high sensations, affirmers of the joy of living.

Granted that we entered upon this war experience with sober stoicism, shall we therefore not grow to gayety? We have reasoned why, we have admitted that we must do—and perhaps die; having thus settled our course of action with definiteness, may we not henceforth throw ourselves into it, like Nietzsche's incorrigible idealist, turning the hell into a heaven? And if our previous training and circumstance have been quite against us, shall we not with religious conviction *will* to be Dionysiac? What an incomparable army we should be, could the intellectual and æsthetic inhibitions of years be broken clean away and our spirits be really washed again in radiant youth!

We may well choose Dionysus as a permanent ally: he will bear it out "even to the end of doom." For if we are disquieted with the thought that this joy may be short-lived and are too honest to flaunt a hopeless ecstasy in the face of so seemingly solemn a thing as death, we may well remember that Dionysus, too, was destined to die. It was part of the cosmic scheme that the lovely and high-spirited should be checked in its glory; but that did not matter. Gayly living life to the full, he would meet death as willingly when it chose to come, happy to suffer all its torments, shrinking from nothing of its supremely and gloriously painful sensations, madly joyous in being torn limb from limb. For it, too, was no more than part of the joy of living, one of the rapturous experiences, though not the ultimate one. For he knew that life is never ended; and again, sure as the winter yielded to the soft insistent breath of the southerly Ægean breeze, he should miraculously be revived, without a scar. Joyously fresh and glowing in youthful beauty would come Dionysus, sailing with the same serene and restrained mirth over the same wind-crisped sea; the same dear god Dionysus would arise from the sea and return!

# Correspondence

## President Duniway's Camouflage

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his recent reply (*Nation*, December 20) to my letter on "The Controversy at Colorado College" (*Nation*, November 1), President Duniway seeks to undermine my credit, not by refuting my statements, but by making vague and general charges of incompleteness, lack of candor, partisanship, errors, and misinterpretations which "it is not expedient to deal with by the method of newspaper controversy," etc. "On two points only," he says, "do I desire to make specific answers." On those two points I shall ask leave to submit some of the evidence for my statements.

Every statement which I made is based either upon my own personal knowledge or upon what I believe to be strong evidence. If President Duniway will prove to me, either publicly or privately, that any statement I made is an error or misinterpretation, I will gladly retract it. But he must present something more than the mere assertion with which he attempts to meet the only two points on which he makes specific answers.

(1.) I said that the offer of "reinstatement" made by the trustees to Dean Parsons in their resolution of August 30 was disingenuous, and that the resolution was ambiguous. President Duniway says: "The reinstatement . . . was made in entire good faith and without ambiguity." Here is the resolution; let the reader judge as to its ambiguity:

> That the Board approve the recommendations of President Duniway and hereby reconsider and rescind the dismissal of Dean Parsons, reinstating him in his position in the faculty, but with leave of absence for the collegiate year 1917-18, and with postponement of determination of his continuing status in the College until June, 1918.

As to its "good faith": On September 3, 1917, a committee of the Denver alumni waited on President Duniway and presented to him a letter containing two questions, as follows:

> First. Is the full and complete reinstatement which the trustees have given Dean Parsons equivalent to a withdrawal—as it appears to us to be—of all the charges that have been held or made against him?

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second. May we be assured that these same charges will not be brought up again at the end of the year—in other words, may we assume that his position is stable unless new occasion for criticism arises?

In their resolutions printed in the Colorado Springs *Evening Telegraph* of September 13 the Denver alumni say: "President Duniway stated in effect to our committee that . . . the action of the trustees merely postponed the determination of the status of Dean Parsons, which was in the meantime not that of the other members of the faculty."

I could furnish further evidence on this point; but I maintain that President Duniway's answer to the questions of the Denver alumni is in itself proof that the offer of reinstatement was disingenuous. The resolution seemed to offer reinstatement; really, according to President Duniway's own admission when he was questioned, it offered merely postponement.

(2.) I said: "The copper-mine theory of administration is still being tested under a president who seems to have cheerfully accepted it." President Duniway says: "It is simply not true that I 'cheerfully accept' a 'copper-mine theory of administration'—if any definite meaning attaches to that branding phrase." Since my whole article was an exposition of what I meant by a copper-mine theory of administration, I need not define the phrase here. President Duniway does not deny my immediately preceding statement, that "practically from the outset he made it clear that he was committed to the position of the trustees." On August 18, 1917, I had a personal interview with him, of which I preserved a record. To show what I meant in speaking of his cheerful acceptance of the copper-mine theory, I quote this record:

> I said that if it (the attitude of the trustees) did not change, I believed the College would in a year or two lose all the stronger members of the faculty. He replied, "Well, I shall just have to find men to take their places, then." . . . He said that even if thirteen or fourteen men had to leave, their places could be filled; there were plenty of good men seeking positions, more than ever before. If the trustees and the faculty disagreed, and the trustees would not resign, there was nothing for the faculty to do but resign, so far as he could see.

This appears to me to indicate a reasonably cheerful acceptance of the copper-mine theory. But possibly President Duniway's denial, quoted above, means only that his acceptance of the theory is no longer cheerful; that I can well believe.

One other matter, and I have done. I feel indebted to President Duniway for quoting in full the recent resolutions of the board of trustees (passed on November 16, more than two weeks after my article was published), because two of those resolutions illustrate so perfectly some of my points in regard to the board's general attitude. The resolutions, naturally, are the result of further pressure on the board from alumni and students. The first resolution, "notwithstanding our opinion that the dismissal of Dr. E. S. Parsons was justified," declares "the continued willingness" of the board "to grant him further hearings." Hearings before a court which has already condemned him without specific charges, sentenced him, carried the sentence into execution, and now reaffirms its belief that the sentence was just! The second resolution needs a little further comment. A disinterested friend of the College, Mr. Henry C. Hall, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, had proposed that both sides should agree to accept the findings of a committee of arbitration, one arbitrator to be chosen by the trustees, one by the faculty, and the third by these two. This plan was accepted by the faculty and recommended to the trustees by various bodies. The trustees did not accept it; but their second resolution, providing for "mediation," is a substitute for it. The resolution provides an arrangement for the choice of a mediator, who shall be asked to investigate and make recommendations. But it does not bind the trustees to accept the recommendations; and it actually names the committee to choose the mediator! That one party to a controversy should name all the members of the committee to choose the mediator is, it will be admitted, a little unusual. The committee, it is true, looks like a fair one; it consists of one trustee, one member of the faculty, and the president of the Alumni Association. By a strange coincidence, the last mentioned happens to represent, not the majority alumni opinion, but the opinion of the small minority which is inclined to favor the trustees. An oral corollary, I am told, provides that the choice of the committee must be unanimous. This, to be sure, gives to the faculty the power through their representative to block the choice of a mediator unsatisfactory to them; it also gives to the trustees the power to postpone as long as they choose the choice of any mediator. The whole "mediation" plan, indeed, is admirably fitted to secure the end admittedly aimed at in the "reinstatement" plan—namely, postponement. The trustees can postpone the choice of a mediator as long as they like; if one is chosen, they are fairly sure of a majority on the electing committee; and if he makes recommendations, they can indefinitely postpone action on them, and are not bound to accept them at all.

Such are some of the evidences that President Duniway presents to us of a progressive spirit in the administration of the College.

HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE

*Urbana, Ill., December 22, 1917*

# BOOKS

## America's First Proconsul

*Official Letter Books of W. C. Claiborne, 1801–1816.* Six volumes. Edited by Dunbar Rowland. Jackson, Miss.: State Department of Archives and History.

THE man whose works are here collected was enabled to play a large part on the national stage in the first two decades of the last century. He was the first Governor of the Territory of Mississippi, the recipient of the surrender of Louisiana from Laussat in the historic December of 1803, which within three weeks saw the French, Spanish, and American flags float above the Place d'Armes of New Orleans, the man entrusted with initiating Anglo-Saxon government in a turbulent region acquainted only with Latin forms, the adversary of the pirate Lafitte in opera-bouffe contests with that chivalrous villain, the head of civil affairs when the battle of New Orleans was fought, and first-elected Governor of Louisiana as a Territory. No one in his lifetime or since ever mistook Claiborne for a great man, but no one ever denied his possession of very considerable native ability and energy. He was blunt, wanting in adroitness, penetration, or finesse, but in his blunt, awkward way a man of brains and character. He gives us the impression of a man able to push himself to the front and seize a responsible position

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there, well-meaning and earnest in occupying it, but unmistakably clumsy in its exercise. His early career throws some light upon his personality and capacities, though not his limitations. Born a Virginian, a descendant of the Colonial William Claiborne, he was sent to Richmond Academy, and spent a little additional time—more than John Marshall—at William and Mary; but at a tender age was forced by family straits to sail to New York, in the year the first national Congress was sitting there, to make his own way. His rise was really meteoric. Obtaining work in the office of the Clerk of the House, both in New York and after Congress moved to Philadelphia, he was much in the company of two influential men, Secretary of State Jefferson and John Sevier. Sevier induced him to study a little law and to hang out his shingle in Nashville, Tenn.; shortly Claiborne was a delegate in Tennessee's first Constitutional Convention. When Sevier became the first Governor, Claiborne became a Judge of the Supreme Court, and then by legislative election, to fill a vacancy, a Congressman, though he had not the twenty-five years demanded by the national Constitution. In Congress he stayed till 1801, when he was able to assist his old friend Jefferson in an unforgettable way by casting the vote of Tennessee regularly for the Virginian in the contest with Burr. A year later, when Winthrop Sargent's term expired as Governor of Mississippi Territory, Jefferson, despite Sargent's protests that he had been promised another term, advanced young Claiborne to the place. His promotion to the important new post followed within months.

Yet in selecting a man of twenty-eight Jefferson did not conceal his knowledge that he was not appointing a man who had proved himself of the first order of ability. Stating that he would enter into "frank explanations" in transmitting his commission, he declared to Claiborne that

> the office was originally designed for a person whose great services and established fame would have rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the nation at large. Circumstances, however, exist which do not now permit his nomination, and perhaps may not at any time hereafter. That, therefore, being suspended and entirely contingent, your services have been so much approved as to leave no desire to look elsewhere to fill the office.

Claiborne had intimated a distrust of his own fitness for the place, and Jefferson suggested that he could retire whenever he had really persuaded himself of the propriety of doing so; but Claiborne's self-confidence never thereafter failed him. The position demanded largely of the qualities which Claiborne had in generous degree—steadiness, persistency, complete loyalty to the Federal Government, an earnest desire to please and a more earnest desire to do what was right, caution, and circumspection. His youth to a certain extent atoned for his lack of tact in making him adaptable to a strange, complicated, and perplexing task. He united with the fumbling quality of which we have spoken a lack of far-sightedness, of many-sidedness, and of intensity of action unfortunate in the first proconsul of the American republic—for proconsuls should be strenuous and keen-eyed. Nor had he the pleasing personality to beguile the foreign people he governed, or the special knowledge to make him an ideal guide in introducing them to American rule. But, on the whole, he proved himself very capable, and his fifteen years of administration were an undoubted success.

The chief value of these volumes is the new material they furnish for a view of the French and Spanish attitude in Louisiana towards the American Government, of the habits, manners, social and political qualities of the picturesque French and Spanish settlements, the rapid invasion of the region by the Anglo-Saxon planter, stockman, trader, and boatman, and of the interesting results of this mingling of races. It unlocks a great accumulation of details and small incidents valuable to students of that old Louisiana society which lingered to give flavor to the pages of Hearn and Cable, and of the rise of the great new near-Southwest which proved so vast an empire of wealth and American manhood. The editor, whose introduction is brief, and who is equally stingy with his notes, suggests that new material relating to the more dramatic events in early Louisiana may also be found here. So it may, but there are no remarkable discoveries. The two chief events of Claiborne's administration, Burr's conspiracy and the British invasion which ended in Packenham's stinging defeat at New Orleans, have been made the subject of such thorough research that not a great deal can be added. More than fifty years ago Charles Gayarré, in the second volume of his history of Louisiana, drew at length upon the Claiborne letters for his account of both these happenings. Of them we shall say something. But the more valuable materials are upon the social topics mentioned, and upon others not sharply dramatic. Foremost among the latter may be mentioned the whole complex of American political relations with Spain—the Spanish intrigues to regain possession of Louisiana, the revolution in West Florida, the first incidents in the long train of events that led up to our acquisition of Texas, and the relations among France, America, and Spain as Napoleon tried to guide these relations. There are to be enumerated the Creek troubles and Indian relations in general; internal affairs in Louisiana during the War of 1812; slavery and the standing of black freedmen in the Territory. The volumes also throw sidelights upon the perplexing character of the most disgraceful head our armies ever had, Wilkinson; upon the no less perplexing Edward Livingston, disciple of Bentham, designer of the Louisiana code, and claimant in one of the most famous land cases ever contested in American courts; and upon Andrew Jackson.

It is no easier now for us to see Claiborne's difficulties in undertaking to govern this Franco-Spanish, American, and Creole land than it was for him to foresee them when he entered on his task. "It is . . . probable that I have committed many errors," he wrote Madison within the year (October, 1804); "for I was placed on a new theatre and had a part to play which I did not well understand." New Orleans, three-quarters of a century old, not only had a racially mixed population, but intermingled with its respectable elements roving adventurers, robbers, hunters, soldiers, and slaves. Well built, with an elaborate and dignified social life, a thriving centre of trade and commerce by river and sea, it was the metropolis for a population of some 35,000 Latins dwelling in that part of Louisiana which lay below the mouth of the Arkansas. Claiborne knew neither French nor Spanish, and though he protested that he made effective use of an interpreter, he met severe obstacles; we can read between his lines that he was condescending and lacking in polished courtesy to a people proud and punctilious; among American subordinates he counted too many who were mere opportunists and petty politicians. The turbulent riff-raff were hard to restrain; the native middle classes were so used to smuggling that it was impossible to stop it; the upper classes either migrated to France or held rigidly aloof.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of his thousand sources of endless trouble these pages give a spirited reflection, for Claiborne expressed himself frankly on paper.

Yet for years the inhabitants of the newly ceded territory were a discontented people, even after they were reconciled to their incorporation in the Anglo-Saxon nation which they had so long and naturally regarded with bitter enmity. They began the year 1805 by addressing to the Senate a long petition protesting their capacity to govern themselves as a fully constituted State, and arguing against "the calumnies which represent us in a state of degradation"; though Claiborne thought that the most they hoped for was the right to import negroes and elect one legislative branch—"immediate admission into the Union is not expected by the reflecting part of society, nor do I think there are many who would like it." He commented upon the friendliness between "Modern and Ancient Louisianians" as displayed at balls, the theatre, and other amusements. A year later he discussed the great jealousy the ancient Louisianians showed for the few Americans in the House of Representatives, the intrigues of the malcontents out of office, and the probability that his prospective veto of several bills would result in a total breach with the Legislature. In May, 1806, he was confiding again at length to Madison the cares of his office: the introduction of English into the courts, the trial by jury instead of judge, the admission of attorneys, and the judicial system which had generally displeased the French inhabitants; nor did he believe that he was himself "a favorite with the people." A "manuscript" in denunciation of him published that summer by the Legislature fulfilled his fears. Trying to walk a middle path between the opposing factions in Louisiana, he was accused by some of the Americans of giving a preponderance to "the French influence" at the time when the French were most severe upon him. As Claiborne explained, "Among the numerous adventurers to this territory are many native citizens of the United States; they, for the most part, are needy, and finding it difficult to maintain themselves by private pursuits, they become pressing applicants for office. . . . When an appointment is made, I have generally found that it tended only to make one man ungrateful and to add forty or fifty to the number of my enemies." His worries on account of the Spanish plottings to the east, the smugglers, pirates, and Indians were at this time and later almost incessant.

Claiborne's conduct of the Burr affair was quite correct, though rather that of a man of zeal than of remarkable insight into affairs. The date he first wrote the President expressing his "apprehensions that certain persons were forming plans inimical to the United States" was tardy, being November 6, the very date that Jo Daveiss, months after he had commenced his accusations of Burr in the *Western World*, rose in Federal Court at Frankfort, Ky., to make affidavit that he possessed evidence that Burr had formed an association to break up the Union; but New Orleans was far from the seat of Burr's machinations. Claiborne's chief blindness would appear in his almost complete trust in a man he knew well, the contemptible opportunist Wilkinson. But doubtless it is too much to expect the Governor to see through a scoundrel in whom almost every one else in power, from Jefferson down, was deceived; and he has left us a very plausible justification of his attitude of support.

The final volume is of particular interest as exhibiting the restive temper of New Orleans under the strain of the War of 1812. In letters of the early years of his administration Claiborne had repeatedly assured Jefferson that in a few years, with the sinking of old animosities, the spread of the English tongue, and the progress of immigration, the lower Louisianians would be as loyal citizens as the United States could want. But, after the outbreak of the war, he was far from satisfied with the attitude of a large portion of the people, and these not the lawless men who helped smuggling and piracy to rise then to unexampled heights. Late in 1813 he spoke of newspapers

> whose mischievous designs are the more to be regretted from the facility with which *in this city* they produce discussion and discontent. If, indeed, Louisiana should be attacked, the regular troops are too few in number to defend the avenue to New Orleans, and unless the people should feel and act in unison and with great firmness the country will for the moment be lost. . . . In the patriotism of the interior counties of the State I place great confidence, and I persuade myself I shall be able to withdraw from *them* a respectable force for the defence of the Capitol. I am not without hopes also that as the dangers increase, the citizens of New Orleans will more willingly than they do now submit to privations, and unite hand and heart in all measures of defence.

These hopes were fulfilled. The imminence of British attack, the gathering of troops from the whole Southwest at New Orleans, and Gen. Jackson's address to the people in October had the proper effect. The Louisiana militia, French, American, Creole, and colored, came forward with "the greatest promptitude," the Legislature rallied behind them, Gen. Jackson was warmly received, and in the crisis the whole city acted harmoniously. When the battle was over, Claiborne, though recognizing the worth of the Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen, hastened to call Madison's attention to his "glory in the opportunity which has afforded the people of Louisiana to prove that although the youngest of the great American family, they are not the least in valor and patriotism." Indeed, Louisiana was now, despite the ugly and baseless suspicions of Jackson, to all intents and purposes a member of the Union; and Claiborne must have felt, in looking upon the position and temper of the Territory so soon to become a State, that his trials and worries had not been in vain.

## A Pioneer of Yesterday

*Twentieth-Century France.* By M. Betham-Edwards. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $4 net.

MISS BETHAM-EDWARDS deplores the Victorian days when to sneer at the Frenchman was the fashion in England, and France supplied the British novelist with his villain. British heroes and heroines of romance have not altogether given up Paris as the scene of their downward career, but the fashion is on the wane, and it is to Miss Betham-Edwards's credit that hers was one of the first of the few voices heard crying in the wilderness. She could write of France and the French with sympathy at a time when to do so must have savored of eccentricity, if nothing worse. She was a pioneer with Hamerton and Molloy, in whose "Autumn Holidays on French Rivers" the Briton discovered to his amazement that pleasure in France could be innocent, and Stevenson, whose "Inland Voyage" made the equally astounding revelation that to be a Frenchman was not necessarily to be vowed to frivolity or vice. Miss Betham-Edwards's books upon France in the nineteenth century had their value, because not only of her sympathy with,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but also her knowledge of, her subject. She says in the Introduction to her new book that, partly by inheritance—one of her grandmothers was French—partly by choice, France, from her childhood upwards, has been the land of her adoption. She has had the advantage of being at home in the country and with the people, spending much of her time in Paris and the provinces, knowing France and the French at first hand. Her writing never had charm of style, she has always had a tendency to the dulness which she finds in Hamerton and in him attributes to his loss of familiarity with his own tongue. But her sincerity, her experience, the simplicity of her record, gave her books an authority and an interest not to be lightly dismissed when we remember that the earliest were published long before the British had lost their faith in the Frenchman of *Punch*, long before this Frenchman had ceased to be "Froggy" even to an educated Englishman like William Morris.

When she writes of France in the twentieth century, however, she must be judged by other standards. In the first place, her old mission is at an end. In the second, it is too soon, at the best, to write of a century only seventeen years old, especially as these seventeen have been such appallingly full years, not for France alone, but for the entire world, that it cannot yet be predicted how any one country will come out of the ordeal. A false idea is abroad that France already has been transformed. We have actually, ourselves, heard an Englishman marvel at the change, saying in so many words that the heroism and dignity of the French to-day were so unlike all that *Punch* had taught him of the race in his youth. But the French have been heroic throughout their history, always distinguished by the fine qualities just now popularly, though mistakenly, supposed to have been developed by the war. What we do not know is how they will bear the stress and strain through which they are passing. Here Miss Betham-Edwards makes no effort to help us. The war so far has been the great event, the great factor of the century, but it does not seem to concern her, she does not seem to realize that war means inevitably new conditions, new possibilities. She praises the thrift of the French, an old story, but she ignores the new fever of extravagance that in France, as in England, has seized the working class until French women, who are paid higher wages than ever before, have grown as keen for finery as they always have been for neatness. She has something to say of the French love of home, but neither is this a twentieth-century development, nor is the splendid independence of the French workman which she applauds, nor, for that matter, his countrymen's respect for it. However, the contrast she draws between this respect and the policy of interference encouraged by the English Lady Bountiful, if no novelty, is a useful reminder not merely to the English for whom she writes, but to the American social reformer ready to uplift any and everybody of every and any nationality.

The book also contains shrewd remarks upon the industry of the French, and Miss Betham-Edwards appreciates French writers and French research, but almost all she writes could have been written as appropriately in the last century as in this. Indeed, many of her chapters evidently date back to before 1900 or to the years immediately following. The last International Exposition, the work of Fabre and Rosny and Martel, the house of Hachette, above all the Salons of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse and Madame Récamier and Madame Mohl cannot, by the most ardent of Miss Betham-Edwards's admirers, be considered characteristic of the twentieth century. We should say that the volume was made up of odd reviews and magazine articles gathered together as a new tribute from the author to the land of her adoption. Whether they were worth gathering together and preserving is another question. Frankly, we do not think they were. Many English books are being written about France as if in atonement for the old misunderstanding. Miss Betham-Edwards's work as a pioneer is done, and, with it, her chief claim upon the reader has gone. Student of French literature as she is, she might have avoided such misprints as, for instance, Romain Rollin, Viollet Leduc, Mme. de Sévigni, Barbazon.

## British Reconstruction

*After-War Problems.* By the Earl of Cromer, Viscount Haldane, the Bishop of Exeter, Prof. Alfred Marshall, and others. Edited by William Harbutt Dawson. New York: The Macmillan Co. $2.50.

THE nineteen papers which Mr. Dawson has edited not only are of exceptionally uniform excellence, but they also constitute, on the whole, the most detailed and comprehensive study of reconstruction problems in England that has yet appeared. Unavoidable delay in printing has left some of the statistical matter a little behind date, but without affecting in any case the general conclusions.

The several papers show, as a rule, two aims: a searching inquiry into conditions as affected by the war, and a more or less elaborate indication of the steps, private as well as governmental, which are deemed necessary if England is to adjust itself successfully to the new conditions of peace. Lord Cromer, who particularly argues the case for imperial federation, urges the establishment at the Foreign Office of a bureau charged with the duty of keeping the Dominions informed "of everything of importance that passes in connection with foreign affairs"; while his suggestion of an Imperial Council distinctly foreshadows the Imperial War Cabinet, whose first meeting, last March, he did not live to see. The Earl of Meath, in addition to enumerating concisely some of the things which the schools can do to inculcate patriotism without exalting the military spirit, points out that there must also be "an end to slums, to exploitation of labor, and to all conditions which contribute towards a low moral, mental, and physical health and strength." The note of improved conditions of daily living is, indeed, the one which most often recurs throughout these pages. Sir H. H. Johnston, who writes on the alien question, insists that no obstacle ought to be put in the way of immigrants who are likely to prove valuable citizens, especially since "*we* do not hesitate to plant ourselves in foreign countries." The chapter on National Education, by Viscount Haldane, is a severe but constructive arraignment of the whole system of English education, from the lowest schools to the universities, and is well worth the attention of those who are as yet indifferent to our own educational shortcomings.

Economic and social problems naturally hold a large place in a work of this sort, and what the various writers have to say in this direction is extremely suggestive and informing. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, who discusses the organization of the national resources, is not hopeful of any large return of laborers to the land, but insists that a marked increase of production in India and some of the Crown

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Colonies can be brought about if better wages and improved labor conditions are provided. The chapters on labor and capital cover almost every important phase of the English industrial situation, especially the solicitude of the trade unions lest the earlier gains of unionism may be impaired, the desirability of increasing the number of landholders among the working classes, the advantages of shop committees of workingmen, the merging of small industries in greater ones, the need of scientific methods and management, the improvement of rural life, and the serious problems of housing. The keenest piece of criticism in the volume is by Mrs. Fawcett, whose chapter on the economic position of women, while recognizing fully what has been achieved, fosters no illusions whatever either as to the friendly attitude of Government or as to the large fields yet to be won. As a scholarly performance pure and simple, the highest praise must be given to Professor Marshall's survey of the question of taxation after the war, with its convincing repudiation of protection as a policy to be adopted.

The barest enumeration of the main conclusions of the writers whose coöperation Mr. Dawson has procured would, however, fill columns, and we can do no more than commend the book to all who would understand the momentous social changes with which England is confronted, and what is being thought and planned regarding them. A survey on similar lines of our own after-the-war problems would be a task well worth undertaking.

## "Psychological Sociology"

*Introduction to Social Psychology.* By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $2 net.

MR. ELLWOOD tells us that this book is a simplification and systemization of the theories presented in his "Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects." As a sort of text or epigraph the author, in his preface, quotes a long extract from Hugo Münsterberg's "Psychology, General and Applied." Three chapters then lead up to the central theories of the book, concerning the nature of social unity and continuity, and of social change under normal and abnormal conditions; and these chapters are followed by disquisitions on instinct, intelligence, imitation, suggestion, sympathy, and consciousness of kind, in social life. Three chapters, on social order, social progress, and the nature of society, form a conclusion. So much for an outline, mainly in the author's words, of the scope and method of treatment. We can recall no other contemporary sociological work of the psychological order which makes a saner and clearer presentation of its case. The tone is good and the temper fair-minded enough. Here is a proper book for the student who desires to know what the "psychological sociologist" is about. He will be told, not in a dazzling, showy fashion, but soberly and with calm conviction. The criticism here to be passed does not concern form or detail; it has to do with the general matter of leaning so heavily upon psychology and, in particular, of stressing so insistently the dominance in social evolution of conscious rational procedure.

Arguing out matters of this sort is a long process and of doubtful conclusiveness; very likely the best thing for sociology will be for a number of mutually dissenting theorists to go on, each in his own preferred way, and then our successors will eventually see whose results demonstrate. But it is proper to express grounds of dissent, briefly, even though these are little more than listed. "Psychology," writes the author himself, "as the whole scientific world knows, is very far from a settled condition." This is the impression it has always left upon the mind of the reviewer; to brace a scientific structure heavily against psychology has seemed only a little less perilous than to rest it upon philosophy. It is all right, of course, to use whatever approved matter you can find in the unsettled field; but the author before us goes on solemnly and reverently to call down thunders in the name of psychology—thinking, perhaps, that the errant godlet will answer for the much invocation—and leaves a general impression that all who do not worship are lost. Logically, as Spencer saw well enough, sociology calls for an antecedent psychology; but the former science has not been actually helped much by the latter in the matter of self-realization. The pretensions of psychology, as here set forth or implied, make one think of the historian who claimed for history everything man had ever done on earth —astronomy, bacteriology, and all the rest. Every one is ready to agree that human evolution is typically mental rather than physical; but if that means that psychology is the little master-key to the social universe, with its imprint at least in the form of an adjective upon any science of society, then why worry about the ancillary discipline, or even name it? "Psychological sociology," a term preferred by Mr. Ellwood to his own title, rings to the ear something like "Christian sociology" and other tendency-compounds.

As a matter of fact, preoccupation with psychology naturally leads one to regard society as a sort of sum of individuals, for psychology has really to do with individuals. The individual is the only thing that has a mind to study. The only kind of mind there is, is encased in the skull on some one's shoulders. You can perhaps find out, or guess how it, and a thousand other similar ones, work, and then generalize somewhat. But a society is composed of individuals only as a body is of cells, and to talk of social psychology, or *Völkerpsychologie*, seems a good deal like discussing histological individuality. There is psychology, but it is permissible to doubt whether there is any social psychology; there is sociology, but it has no right to independent scientific existence unless it has a set of phenomena, subject to law, to itself. "Rural sociology" presents no difficulties, for it signifies simply a division of the field; but "psychological sociology," implying a dependent relation, strikes a disfiguring blow at scientific individuality. For thus is sociology made into an appendage to psychology, even though the latter is represented by a modest adjective, as Mr. Ellwood would prefer to have it, instead of a ramping noun, as in his deferential title.

Emphasis upon mental processes and the individual easily leads out into the ascription of society's adjustments to conscious rational procedure on the part of individuals; or, at least, it comes to be piously hoped or prophesied that the day of such procedure is at hand. The fact that such an attitude leads to considerable prophecy means that it does not easily find vindication in accepted facts of observation. The same is true when it is stated that such and such ideals, often transcendental, "must" be realized: "class or group consciousness must be replaced by a truly social consciousness . . . each group . . . should be given its due place in the total life of humanity." Fine sentiments, but where do they get us? A man must be a confirmed optimist to believe for very long that society's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doings are, as a rule, consciously and rationally directed by individuals. Here is absent, in any case, the vision of society as a special phenomenon for study; it is rather a band of individuals that we see, planning out mutual relations. A vision of society is possible, however, which shows it moving massively and impersonally towards its destiny, crushing its unmoved course over and through conflicting ratiocinations and intellectual despairs of conscious individuals, towards some totally, or at most dimly and uncertainly, perceived situation and form. That makes society something unique to study. One who has caught such a glimpse of the action of "the roaring loom of Time" sees social laws in their likeness to gravitation and other cosmic matters, and is led to believe that man's chance lies in utilizing his mental endowment to promote his discretion rather than his masterfulness. Of altering society one cannot then say, with the author: "Its organization and institutions, resting as they do upon habit, may be easily modified . . . by changes in the environment both physical and psychic," even though he interpolates, with the author, the cautious and almost neutralizing qualification: "within limits permitted by physical nature and human nature."

"Social psychology" is an alluring field for reflection and speculation, and a good many will doubtless be attracted to it by this well-written book. It is to be welcomed. Time will disclose—and nothing else can—how much or how little is to be attained by this line of approach. If optimism remains the popular mode there can be no doubt that books of this order will show a felicitous adjustment to environment.

# Notes

FROM James Ingram & Son, Melbourne, Australia, we have received a copy of "The Story of the Anzacs." This historical account of the part taken by the Australian and New Zealand naval and military forces in the war includes the successful action fought by the Sydney with the famous German raider Emden, as well as the early operations in the Pacific, and closes with the tragically heroic story of Gallipoli. Illustrations and maps are adequate complements to an account written with pleasing reticence and vigor.

FOR instructors in the national and regular units of the army or navy a "Small Arms Instructor's Manual" in a size convenient for the pocket, compiled by members of the Small Arms Instruction Corps, should prove of great service. This manual (Dutton; 60 cents net) covers all the needs of infantry using the service Springfield rifle, and of cavalry and artillery using the service automatic pistol. Important chapters such as those on Fire Direction and Control, Night Firing, and the Use of Cover, together with the nomenclature employed in technical descriptions, are written in simple language. The illustrations are of high technical value and accuracy.

THE advantages of condemning private property in the vicinity of city improvements has attracted much attention from students of municipal finance and of town planning. It has been urged that in this way the improvement may be protected, while the city, by the resale of the condemned property, may recoup itself for its outlay or even, in a favorable case, obtain a profit. Mr. Robert Eugene Cushman's "Excess Condemnation" (Appleton; $2) is, however, the first systematic and comprehensive treatment of the subject in the English language. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the war forced the author to suspend his studies of European experience, and he has, therefore, been forced to confine his study largely to American and Canadian material. That the power of excess condemnation is highly desirable as a means of protecting street and park improvements against unsightly encroachments appears to be fully demonstrated. On the other hand, the author's argument in favor of the method of excess condemnation as against the method of special assessments as a means of recoupment is not entirely convincing. The one case of special assessment described in detail—that of the Kansas City parks—was so glittering a financial success that the reader would have been interested in an extended comparison of the two methods based on actual experience.

FOR an American to write a book to-day about the war, "A World in Ferment," by Nicholas Murray Butler (Scribner; $1.25), without mentioning President Wilson by name, or ringing the changes on any of the Wilsonian phrases which have become common property, is in itself an unusual feat; but Dr. Butler has not only achieved it, he has also succeeded in gliding smoothly and without recrimination from an early attitude of opposition to American neutrality to a present support, not directly of the President, but of the war. The president of Columbia has much skill in phrasing sententious platitudes, especially regarding the moral aspects of business or politics; which is one reason, perhaps, why he so often appears as the spokesman for interesting causes whose practical details men of less comprehensive vision must be left to work out. The present volume fully sustains his accustomed manner. Here one may reread, for example, the familiar arguments on behalf of international arbitration and a league of nations, or learn again how little we were prepared for war. The members of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, after being told, in February last, how sadly we have been "drifting" in foreign policy, must have been stirred to real enthusiasm for social reform on hearing, from the head of the richest private educational trust in the world, such profound truths as that "the time has come for us to acknowledge the primary obligation to the general public that rests upon every participant in any enterprise which is recognized as being invested with a public interest and which is to that extent under public supervision and control"; or that "every great industry and every great corporate undertaking is primarily something human, and not merely something mechanical, or material, or financial." Is it possible that Dr. Butler, who, we believe, has already been "mentioned," was thinking of 1920, when, in the same address, he lamented our indifference to public administration; declared that our government "is probably the most incompetent and most costly on earth"; asserted that "if the Government of the United States were run in accordance with those principles which control the activity of any great non-governmental undertaking, from a steel corporation to a university, it would be the envy and the admiration of the world"; and was unable to recall "that any great administrator has ever been chosen President of the United States"?

STILL, one must admit that the classes, whose superior point of view Dr. Butler unquestionably understands,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need education quite as much as the masses, whose ignorance, selfishness, and violence he earnestly deprecates. It is well that some one who has their ear does not hesitate to tell them that things have changed rapidly of late, that Europe and our Atlantic seaboard are not the only centres of world interest, that men (would Dr. Butler make an exception of teachers?) ought everywhere to be free, and that it is better to help Russia than to despise her. And while the "world in ferment," of which he discourses, is at the moment a sadly distracted one, we may nevertheless hope that the trouble will quiet down, and indecorous explosions be avoided, once the high sentiments which he voices, proclaimed by business-like administrators and dutifully accepted by the rank and file, shall have come to prevail. We commend this volume of addresses to all who feel that they ought to take the world seriously, but who at the same time cannot bring themselves to think very deeply about it.

THE November issue of *Modern Philology* (Romance Section, Part II) is wide in its appeal; for it is devoted to the study of really prominent writers. S. O. Dickerman shows the indebtedness of Du Bartas to Saint Ambrose; Professor Searles finds in Gui Patin's correspondence new support for Raynaud's identification of Tomès and Bahys in Molière's "L'Amour médécin," an identification rejected by the notes of the Grands Ecrivains edition; and Professor Lancaster finds in the history of Bohemia a plausible source—so long sought in vain—for Rojas Zorrilla's "No hay ser" and its adaptation, Rotrou's "Venceslas." All these articles will certainly compel the attention of any one studying these subjects in the future; all three—like the one not yet mentioned—are contributions of which American scholarship may be proud. Except in one case, however, they are diffuse, and this diffuseness becomes discouraging, not to say harmful, in the fourth article. This is the second part of a study begun in a former issue by Professor Nitze. The author proves the similarity of Corneille's conception of character with the description of the ideal set forth in the "Cortegiano." But he ought to have stopped there and condensed his material into one article. In other days, we should not have brought out this fault in an excellent issue. But it is important that in America, at least, real investigation should not founder in the world storm; everything should be done—cutting down of publishers' expenses and encouragement of the reader—to make possible a continuation of our scholarly publications. *Modern Philology* is one of the best. We must support it—intelligently.

"EAST by West," a small volume of one hundred and seventy pages by A. J. Morrison (Sherman, French; $1.25), is defined in the sub-title as "Essays in transportation, a commentary on the political framework within which the East India trade has been carried on from very early times, starting with Babylon and ending very near Babylon." Just what purpose these essays are designed to serve is not made clear, but they seem to have had an origin in the speculation aroused in the writer's mind by the return of the world's trade once more, via the Bagdad Railway, to the region of old Babylon in Mesopotamia, after a wandering westward for forty centuries. As the writer puts it, and his way of putting it is a good example of his style, "the World went West for how many centuries, having a lot of fun by the way, and also making a lot of trouble in the far journey." It is this going West and back that the author describes in a kind of gossipy vernacular of his own, that need not be taken very seriously, though at times it shows both insight and wit. There are undoubtedly people who will enjoy reading this personally conducted account of the trading history of the world, stopping as they will at each important centre, from Babylon on, and listening to a kind of Burton Holmesian commentary on the rise and fall of the various seats of commercial greatness. We advise those who do read this rambling, half-cynical, half-jocose monologue to provide themselves with a map of the world, a gazetteer, and a biographical dictionary, else they will flounder in a sea of unfamiliar names and places. Mr. Morrison has avoided the danger of too many dates, but he has not avoided the equally serious danger of an excess of names of men and places, which he pours forth in a flood. Curiously enough, the first part of this narrative, dealing with the Mediterranean, is much better than the last, dealing with the Atlantic and the world generally, probably because the method of narration, which is fairly well suited to simple situations, is utterly unfit to cope with the complicated trade conditions of the last two centuries. We suspect also that somewhat the same condition prevails in regard to the writer's knowledge of his subject.

IF there is anything "Behind the German Veil" which is particularly worth disclosing, it has not been revealed by J. M. de Beaufort in his book of that title (Dodd, Mead; $2 net). The author was recently war correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, in which paper various chapters of his book first appeared. Though he is a brisk, enterprising journalist, trained in the school of American experience, he is by no means a de Blowitz in the ability to ferret out secrets of international importance. His chief card is his interview with Hindenburg, in which, of course, nothing significant was divulged. He tells also of interviews with Bernstorff, Ballin, and many others, and describes an outdoor field service at which the Kaiser was present and spoke. All this is recorded in a chatty, somewhat inconsequential style, while liberal diversion is supplied in the way of anecdotes, illustrations, etc. It is a book to read cursorily as one reads the war articles in the Sunday newspaper.


# The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Published Thursdays. Owned by THE NATION PRESS, INC., OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President. EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher, Secy. and Treas.

Entered at the New York City Post Office as second class mail matter.

HAROLD DE WOLF FULLER, EDITOR
R. B. McCLEAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
WILLIAM G. PRESTON, ADVERTISING MANAGER
ROBERT R. CLELAND, CIRCULATION MANAGER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—Four dollars per annum, postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.
Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street. P. O. Box 794, New York.

LONDON OFFICE: 16 Regent St., S. W.; WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building; CHICAGO OFFICE: People's Gas Building.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Augustin Daly

*The Life of Augustin Daly.* By Joseph Francis Daly. New York: The Macmillan Co. $4 net.

THIS book, interesting and valuable as it is, would have been infinitely easier to read, and fully as impressive, had it been disencumbered of a great mass of trivial and tiresome material. It could have been vastly improved by a judicious editing, reducing its dimensions by one-third. The author, doubtless, was inspired by a conscientious desire to present the fullest possible record of his brother's life and labors, and he has succeeded in rearing a notable monument of fraternal affection. But, though a respected and capable judge, he had little skill in book-making. The legal habit of his mind is betrayed in the accumulation of the smallest details, rather than in orderly and discriminating use of them. His relation, especially in some of the earlier chapters, is often exceedingly confused and rambling. But he wrote fluently and with conviction and, on the whole, has done justice—sometimes more than justice—to a remarkable subject. If he is more accurate and painstaking in his statement of facts than he is always sound in his deductions from them, that is no more than might be reasonably expected.

Augustin Daly was a man of no common intellectual or moral fibre. For a quarter of a century he was one of the most dominant figures upon the English-speaking stage. He rose, unaided, from lowly beginnings to preëminence by virtue of a high and restless ambition, self-cultivation, rare executive ability, comprehensive artistic tastes, indomitable industry, and extraordinary patience, endurance, and courage. He was imperious, irritable, courteous, shrewd, audacious, intensely self-reliant, seclusive, genial, and devout. The strictest and most exacting of disciplinarians, he exercised in his theatre an absolute dictatorship, in all matters great or small, at the same time retaining, in an extraordinary degree, the good will and loyalty of his players and others in his employ, by his even-handed justice and kindly consideration. Nothing was done in his house that he did not direct and supervise. It was thus that he succeeded in building up and in maintaining a stock company, which, within a wide range of comedy, was, at its best, without an equal on either side of the Atlantic. The members of it stood by him both in good fortune and ill, and few managers have been exposed to greater vicissitudes.

Any attempt to give even the briefest summary of his various theatrical enterprises, failures, and triumphs within the limits of this paper would be ridiculous. Moreover, most of them are still comparatively fresh in public memory. It is only possible to review, very briefly, the chief features of his accomplishment and to estimate the value and influence of his career as a whole. His brother's appreciation of him, founded very largely upon his engaging personal attributes, is frequently extravagant and not always to the purpose. Beyond question he was, in more senses than one, a brilliant manager and, in some notable respects, a stage reformer. He had high ideals—which he occasionally ignored—of the literary, artistic, and instructional scope of the theatre, spared no cost nor labor in the preparation of his productions, and exhibited a wonderful promptness in recognizing and developing budding talents. To this last faculty he owed long periods of his greatest prosperity. He was the professional creator of Fanny Davenport, Agnes Ethel, Clara Morris, Kate Claxton, Sarah Jewett, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, Effie Shannon, Ada Rehan, John Drew, James Lewis, Louis James, and many other popular favorites. Intensely individual, he was the inveterate foe of the pernicious star and syndicate systems, and conducted his business along lines of complete independence and honest competition. For years he attracted and held a special public by representations of a general and peculiar excellence not to be found elsewhere. But it must be noted that the fame of his company was founded chiefly, though not exclusively, upon their successes in the lighter forms of modern drama, especially in his own exceedingly clever adaptations from the German. His triumphs in more emotional pieces were due principally to Clara Morris and one or two others.

It is true that some, not all, of his experiments in the older comedies—"The Country Girl," etc.—were popular for a time, but his modernized treatment of them and his radical expurgation of the text (which, of course, was inevitable) made these much more curious than valuable. They were not really "revivals" at all, because the manner and the spirit, the very essence, of the original were necessarily lacking. The plain truth is that not a few of the financial disasters which Mr. Daly, with infinite endurance, courage, and resourcefulness, faced and overcame were due not so much to the fickleness or bad taste of the public as to the fact that he overrated the capacity of his players and set them tasks for which they were unfitted. He never realized the necessity of very special training in speech, carriage, and action to qualify players for the proper interpretation of poetic or romantic drama. It was for this reason that his Shakespearean productions—exquisitely as he mounted them—were far from being satisfactory and failed—with the somewhat unimportant exception of "The Taming of the Shrew," in which Ada Rehan won a notable personal triumph—to create any lasting impression. In every case much of the meaning and nearly all the rhythmical melody of the text were sacrificed, as they were, long afterward, in Granville Barker's vocal travesty of "A Midsummer Night's Dream." His occasional employment of actors of an older school only served to emphasize the deficiencies of their less instructed modern associates. These defects were also revealed, though less conspicuously, in his trials of modern melodrama. Few managers had more bitter disappointments than he, and the explanation of most of them is simple.

This book tries to put him on too high a pinnacle. As a pillar of the higher drama he was no Macready, Phelps, Irving, or Lawrence Barrett. His school, admirable as it was in the one line in which it greatly succeeded, that of light comedy, produced no really good all-round players, to act as future leaven upon the gross theatrical lump. But he was able, aspiring, lavish, resourceful, and dauntless, if often overconfident and indiscreet. He shone brightly in contrast with most of his contemporary rivals, whom he excelled in brains and character, and, greatly daring, he carried his forces across the Atlantic and extorted from skeptical European critics the fullest recognition of an American dramatic art that measured up to their own standards. Judge Daly's pages furnish fresh details of this memorable achievement, as well as many interesting glimpses behind the scenes of managerial life, but contain nothing more valuable or enlightening than the private correspondence of Augustin himself, intimate letters from various parts of this country and abroad, which reveal him, not only as a singularly minute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and intelligent observer, but as a writer of rare facility, humor, and descriptive power. They demonstrate beyond question his capacity to make the excellent adaptations, to which reference has been previously made, and justify the presumption that he might have won in literature, perhaps as a dramatist, a more permanent fame than he will have as a manager. This record of him is a welcome addition to the long list of theatrical biographies. J. RANKEN TOWSE

# Reviews of Plays

## "TWELFTH NIGHT" AT THE VIEUX COLOMBIER

IT is always interesting for English-speaking people to see Shakespeare through foreign eyes, if only to realize how great are the possibilities of interpretation lying outside the traditions of the English stage. The performance of "Twelfth Night" by the actors of the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier is very different from those with which New Yorkers or Londoners are familiar. Its originality does not lie in the retention of the text uncut, or nearly so, nor in the adoption of a method of staging recalling that of Shakespeare's day, for these experiments have been often tried in Elizabethan revivals in recent years. The present performance is distinguished rather by a spirit and conception quite its own, which lead the spectator to conclude that Illyria was really a province of France rather than a thinly disguised locality in which to mirror the romance and the comedy of English life.

The purely comic elements of the play are particularly stressed. Less account is made of serious—or potentially serious—scenes, and romance is treated lightly rather than passionately. Olivia, for example, does not suggest a lady who is washing her chamber with eye-offending brine, and her love-episodes and those of the Duke hardly carry conviction, despite occasional fervor. It is indeed hard to make these scenes convincing, but with Viola the case is a little different—we expect to be interested in her character and her experiences. Partly because the play was not cut to give her part prominence, and partly because of the restraint with which the rôle was acted by Suzanne Bing, Viola seemed somewhat less important than usual, and her passion for the Duke of less consequence in the plot. The part is undoubtedly too often unduly stressed by "starring" actresses. The emphasis upon comedy was still further heightened by François Gournac's conception of Malvolio. The steward, in his hands, is no dignified, saturnine Puritan, but a fussy, nervous, self-important, skipping little man, chatty rather than austere. And there is no suggestion of the pathos introduced by many modern actors, the disillusionment of a man who has taken himself with deep seriousness among gay people, who has been cruelly duped, and who finds himself the butt of those about him. The final scene, after Malvolio has been released, is sometimes close to tragedy, but one felt, in the present production, that this whole affair was only a passing episode in the life of a man who would soon forget it, not an experience which would sear his soul. A certain amount of contrast is lost in playing the part after this fashion; Malvolio is made to approximate too nearly to the mood of the other personages.

The most brilliant performance was Lucien Weber's Clown. Without unduly emphasizing his part, he dominated the stage whenever he was on it. Verve, lightness, grace, and scintillating wit—the peculiarly French qualities which make comedy sparkling—were still further aided by a well-managed voice, both in the spoken parts and in the occasional songs. The episode of the disguising as Sir Topas was delightfully done. The part of the Clown, of course, offers great opportunities; it must be said immediately that one of the most striking features of the performance was the uniform excellence of the secondary parts. Sir Toby is perhaps too important to be called secondary; Marcel Vallée was a very French Sir Toby, and his drunken humors admirable fooling. Sir Andrew Aguecheek, whose part is not a rewarding one, was excellent. Best of all, the whole performance was a lesson to stock companies in the ensemble, in the nice adjustment of one rôle to another. This does much to leave the spectator with the feeling that whether this particular conception of the play as a whole and of the individual parts be in all respects the best or not, the acting deserves attention for its intelligence and effectiveness. W. W. LAWRENCE

Amusements

"NONE CAN AFFORD TO MISS IT——ALL CAN AFFORD TO GO."
GREATEST SUCCESS EVER KNOWN "Cheer Up!" Mats. EVERY DAY Seats 6 weeks ahead AT THE
Management CHARLES DILLINGHAM Staged by R. H. BURNSIDE HIPPODROME

EMPIRE BROADWAY AND FORTIETH STREET. Evenings at 8. Matinées Wednesday and Saturday at 2.
Ethel Barrymore THE LADY OF THE CAMELLIAS

# Finance

## "Government Operation"

WHEN President Wilson's proclamation of December 26 announced that control of the railways of the country would be taken over by the Government, railway men, from the chief executives down to the day laborer, were dazed by the overnight change to Government operation. Nearly half a month has now elapsed since President Wilson's proclamation was issued. Therefore sufficient time has passed to make it of interest to recall what has actually been accomplished during the first days of Government operation.

One of the first steps taken by William G. McAdoo, the newly appointed Director-General of the railways, was to cancel all existing priority orders for the movement of freight. As a result of indiscriminate issuance of those orders, congestion had been increased, and no preference had been given to Government business that called for rapid movement. After straightening out that tangle, instructions were sent out to eliminate all duplicate service.

In the Annual Financial Supplement of the *Evening Post* of December 31, the railway presidents, discussing the outlook, were agreed that what was most needed was man-power and motive-power. Immediately after taking charge, the new Director-General issued orders that locomotives in the South and West not working at full capacity should be sent to help out the badly congested Eastern roads. Next instructions were issued to cut off as many passenger trains as possible, and cut down the diner, Pullman, observation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Railroad
and
Public Utility
Bonds and Stocks

SUTRO BROS. & CO.
MEMBERS NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE
120 BROADWAY NEW YORK
Telephone Rector 7350

and chair-car service to the minimum. No less than 250 passenger trains already have been taken off by the railways running into New York alone.

To obtain further relief from congestion, within the last few days orders have been issued to double the charge to shippers for the daily use of loaded freight cars. That charge begins within forty-eight hours after the car has arrived at its point of destination. With the exception of export freight, which must await arrival of steamships, shippers who use badly needed freight cars for storage purposes will be forced to pay for the same a rental of $10 a day. If necessary to keep cars moving, that rental will again be doubled.

Much headway has also been made in hearing the testimony of those railway officials who are opposed to the Government's plan to guarantee net income during the war equal to the average for the three years ended June 30, 1917. One of the roads to protest is the Southern. That company wants the earnings of 1917 used as a basis. Undoubtedly the railways in the cotton belt were hard hit after the war broke out in Europe three and a half years ago, and earnings are just getting back to where they were prior to that fateful August. Southern Pacific, another road objecting to the three-year average, was hard hit by the Mexican troubles of 1916 and 1915.

Then, too, roads like Missouri Pacific and Rock Island, which have just been successfully reorganized, would naturally prefer the Government's guarantee to be based on the returns of 1917. In last week's hearings, however, held at Washington, Interstate Commerce Commissioner Anderson, who drafted the proposed Administration bill, explained that the three-year average had not been decided upon until other plans which led up "blind alleys" had been carefully considered and abandoned. He expressed the belief that, after much thought, the plan proposed seemed to be fairest to all.

Another forward step taken under Government operation has been to ask each railway to send in immediately detailed figures showing how much money will be needed during 1918 to meet maturing obligations. Requests were also made for information showing funds that would be required to carry out partially completed or contemplated improvements. Presumably, the Government proposes to finance such requirements as well as needed additions to motive power and freight cars from the "revolving fund" named in the Administration's railway bill.

But one of the most important developments that have occurred in the railway situation during the past few weeks has been the marked recovery of confidence by investors in railway securities. When the market closed on December 26, prices of railway bonds and stocks were at low level. With the President's proclamation in the morning news of December 27, ending the long period of uncertainty, prices of railway securities opened with the largest overnight advances reported in years. Since then railway bonds and stocks have advanced from 5 to 15 points or more.

As to what will happen in the future, whether the railways are to be merged from Government operation to Government ownership, or whether they are to be returned to private management, that is a question which only the future can decide. Possibly it depends on the way the Government and the railway men themselves meet the war situation now existing.

R. L. BARNUM

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK

### MISCELLANEOUS

Bing, P. C. The Country Weekly. Appleton. $2 net.
Laufer, B. The Language of the Yue-chi, or Indo-Scythians. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co.
Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism and on the Idea of a Patriot King. Introduction by A. Hassall. Oxford University Press. $1.15.
Matheson, P. E. Education To-day and To-morrow. Oxford University Press.
Moore, E. C. Fifty Years of American Education. Ginn.
New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions. Vol. V: Ti-Z. Oxford University Press. $2.
Raymond, A. Intimate Prussia. Dutton. $2 net.
Tatham, C. M. The Airman. Oxford University Press.
Taylor, H. C. C. Chicago. Houghton Mifflin. $8 net.
Verhaeren Commemoration. Addresses. By E. Gosse and Others. Oxford University Press.
War Speeches, 1914-1917. Collected by B. W. Ginsburg. Oxford University Press. $1.
Wise, S. S. How to Face Life. Huebsch. 50 cents net.

### RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Riegel, J. I., and Jordan, J. H. Simon, Son of Man. Sherman, French. $1.50 net.
Taylor, A. E. Plato's Biography of Socrates. Oxford University Press.
Willett, H. L. Our Bible. Chicago: Christian Century Press. $1.35 net.

### GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Baker, S. Higher Living. Sherman, French. $1.75 net.

### BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Magna Carta Commemoration Essays. Preface by Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce. Edited by H. E. Malden. Royal Historical Society.
The Fall of the Romanoffs. Dutton. $5 net.
The Story of the Anzacs. Historical Account of the Part Taken by Australia and New Zealand in the Great War. Melbourne: James Ingram & Son.
Whitton, Lieut.-Col. F. E. A History of Poland. Scribner.

### POETRY

Bensel, A. B. A Voice from the Silence. Sherman, French. $1 net.
Bishop, J. P. Green Fruit. Sherman, French. 80 cents.
Kenyon, J. B. Reed Voices. New York: J. T. White & Co. $1.25.
Peach, A. W. The Hill Trails. Sherman, French. $1 net.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Piatt, J. R. Sons of the Heart and Soul. Sherman, French. $1.25 net.
The Lyric Year from May to October, 1917. Vol. I. Edited by S. Roth and F. Tannenbaum. Lyric Publishing Co.
Tudor, M. The Potter's Clay. Putnam.

SCIENCE

Allen, I. C. B. Mrs. Allen's Cook Book. Small, Maynard. $2 net.
Muller, R. W. Baldness, Its Causes, Its Treatment, and Its Prevention. Dutton. $2 net.
Small Arms Instructor's Manual, 1918. Dutton. 60 cents.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Davis, R. H., and Sheeham, P. P. Efficiency. Doran. 75 cents.
Mackaye, P. The Evergreen Tree. A Masque. Appleton.
Muffie, W. W. Muffie's Prophecy. Oxford University Press.

TEXTBOOKS

Austen, J. Pride and Prejudice. Edited by F. Sicha, jr. Ginn. 64 cents.
Bolenius, E. M. Everyday English Composition. American Book Co.


# NIETZSCHE: THE THINKER

## By W. M. SALTER

"A credit both to American scholarship and literature."—**John Dewey.**

"Mr. Salter's work stands in a class by itself. So far as I can see, it must become definitive for the present generation . . . far superior to anything in English, and better than anything I have read in German, because it has the advantage of wider perspective and does not lose itself in precious subtleties."—**R. M. Wenley.**

"Mr. Salter can hardly be too much commended. He effaces his own opinions and lets Nietzsche explain himself."—*Independent.*

**8vo, $3.50 net**

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY 19 W. 44 St. New York

## Vacation Journeys—East and West

**By David M. Steele**

Author of "Going Abroad Overland."

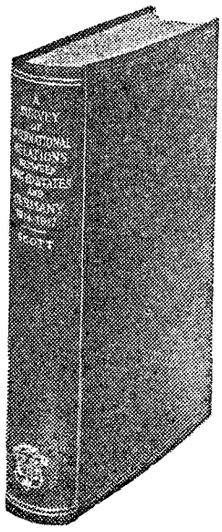
8°. 13 Illustrations and 2 Maps. $1.50.

Contrasts between modes of summer life at certain of the foremost recreation centres and the higher moods engendered by some scenes outdoors of meditation. The places covered include: Lake Champlain, Saratoga Springs, White Mountains, Newport, Adirondacks, Niagara Falls, Thousand Islands, Lake Chautauqua, Across the Continent, Yellowstone Falls, Grand Canyon, Canadian Rockies.

**G. P. Putnam's Sons**

**New York** **London**

# A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany



**August 1st, 1914—April 6th, 1917**

***(Based on Official Documents)***

## By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

*Doctor of Jurisprudence of the University of Heidelberg; Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Hague Peace Conference; Member of the Institute of International Law; President of the American Institute of International Law; Major and Judge Advocate, United States Reserves.*

**Dedicated to the Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State**

An authentic account of the conduct of the United States during the period of neutrality. Every step up to the actual declaration of war is fully treated, especially such important topics as

Submarine Warfare and the Lusitania Case—Sale of Munitions of War—Reprisals, Retaliation and Necessity—The Freedom of the Seas, President Wilson's Reply to the Pope, August 27, 1917—Declaration of War Against Austria.

Also an extended introduction comprising quotations from the writings of leading German authors, showing the German Conceptions of the State, International Policy and International Law.

***Royal 8vo, Cloth, pp. cxvi+390.....Net $5.00***

**Oxford University Press American Branch**

**35 West 32d Street** **NEW YORK**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# EVERY BOOK

advertised in this magazine (with possibly a few exceptions) is to be had in this, the

## LARGEST RETAIL BOOK STORE

on its day of publication

*Prompt attention given mail orders*

**John Wanamaker**

First Floor, Old Building

**Broadway at Ninth, New York**



## The Wheat Problem

**Based on Remarks Made in the Presidential Address to the British Association at Bristol in 1898**

Revised, with an answer to various critics, by Sir WILLIAM CROOKES, O.M., F.R.S. Third Edition. With Preface and Additional Chapter, bringing the Statistical Information up to Date, and a Chapter on Future Wheat Supplies by Sir R. Henry Rew, K.C.B., and an Introduction by Lord Rhondda. Crown 8vo. $1.25 *net.*

**LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., Publishers**
Fourth Avenue and 30th Street, New York



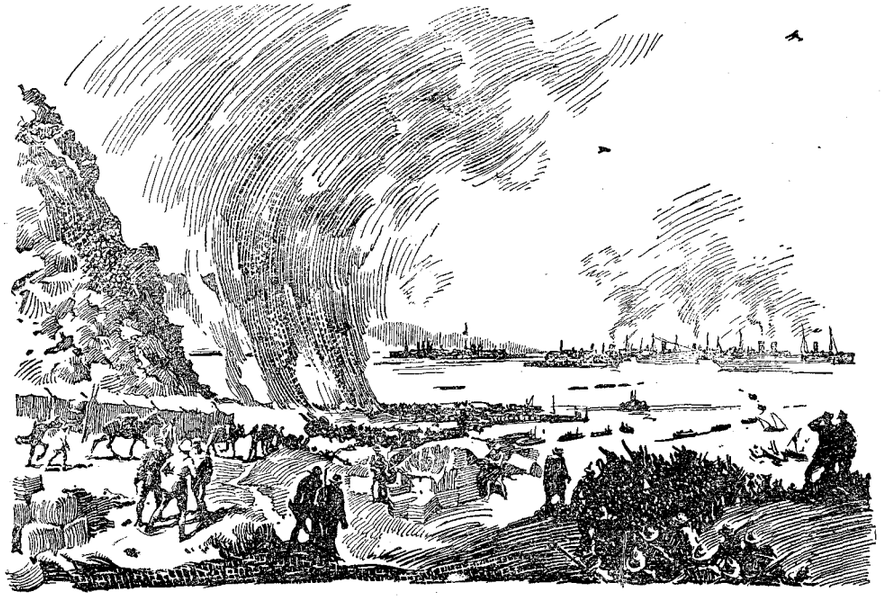
## THE WAR AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY

By MORRIS JASTROW Jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Univ. of Penna. In the words of President Wilson the Bagdad Railway is "the heart of the matter" of the present conflict. This is a war book of the utmost importance by an authority on Eastern civilization. It is the story of Asia Minor and its relation to the present conflict. Serious students of the problems of the war will find in it a complete survey of the situation in the Near East. $1.50 net.

**J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY,**
PUBLISHERS. PHILADELPHIA.



*Read* "THE FLAMINGO'S NEST"
A STORY OF THE TROPICS.
## A HONOLULU NOVEL
369 pages. Express paid, $1.35
**R. SPRAGUE, 2112 Durant Ave., BERKELEY, CAL.**

# We Must "Follow-Up"

The story of the Gallipoli withdrawal is a tale of inadequate support. Like Salamanders clinging to the red-hot bars of a fiery furnace, the boys of Australia and New Zealand clung to the slopes of Anzac. Desperately, heroically they clung. No troops under any circumstances ever displayed greater soldierly qualities or upheld more sacredly the best traditions of England's Army. But they had to withdraw because the "follow-up" was not there.

To some of us it has been given to march with the columns of troops that go to France. And to others it is given to wave Godspeed. But he who marches and he who stays is equally a citizen of the world's mightiest republic and equally responsible for its success in this greatest of undertakings.

Then let us at home turn from our flag waving and consider how necessary we are, how useful we must be. Those who go to fight cannot hope to win by naked bravery and we cannot hope to win unless every individual at home does *all* he can. We must have no Gallipoli

The Bell System is only one of the myriad great and small industries which are co-operating that nothing be left undone to keep a constant, efficient stream of men, guns, ammunition, food, clothing and comforts flowing to the front.


AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

*One Policy* *One System* *Universal Service*



**LUCRETIUS**
Edited by WILLIAM A. MERRILL.
*Price, cloth,* $3.00; *paper,* $2.50.

Free lists of titles in Agricultural Sciences, Amer. Archaeology and Ethnology, Botany, Economics, Education, Engineering, Entomology, Geography, Geology, History, Mathematics, Pathology, Philology, Physiology, Psychology and Zoology.
**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS**
BERKELEY, CAL. 280 MADISON AVE., N. Y.



**THE MASTER OF THE HILL**
A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MEIGS.
**By W. RUSSELL BOWIE.** **$3.00**

The inspiring life of a famous American schoolmaster, a man of extraordinary power who devoted his life to the making of men.
***DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, NEW YORK***



*Accurate—Complete—Interesting*
PRINCIPLES OF
## OCEAN TRANSPORTATION
By *EMORY R. JOHNSON, Ph.D., Sc.D.,* and *GROVER G. HUEBNER, Ph.D.*

Covers in detail the history of the ocean carrier—marine passenger and freight service—Ocean Mail Service—ocean freight rates—methods of Port administration—navigation laws—shipping policy of various nations—present shipbuilding industry. 8vo. $2.50 net.

*At all Booksellers*
THIS IS AN APPLETON BOOK
**D. Appleton & Co., Publishers, New York**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Summary of the News

THE peace negotiations between the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd and the representatives of the Quadruple Alliance were resumed at Brest-Litovsk, with an agreement for the extension of the armistice between the contracting parties until February 18. It is now rumored that, owing to internal dissensions, the conference has been suspended. The previous suspension of the negotiations was due to the request of M. Trotzky, the Bolshevik delegate, that the parleys should be transferred to Stockholm. This suggestion was rejected by the Quadruple Alliance on the excuse that the Allied Powers would be able to influence the course of such parleys if they were conducted on neutral ground. The first stages of the new conference were occupied in determining the status of the Ukraine. Since the recognition of Ukrainian independence by the Bolshevik Government the latter has supported the Ukrainian demand to be represented at the conference. The matter is now being debated by the Teutonic Powers, though the chief difficulty in the discussion seems to hinge upon the revolutionary statement contained in the Ukrainian address to the conference demanding a peace that disavows annexations or the surrender of territory without the consent of the peoples involved. This document also asked that financial assistance should be extended to the small states that had suffered from the devastation of war.

MEANWHILE, the effects of the negotiations upon the Teutonic peoples are variously reported. The recantation by the German delegate von Kühlmann of his agreement that no annexations were to be made has met the approval of the Pan-German press, which had vilified him. The Wolff Bureau, which disseminates official news in Germany, has suppressed an important passage in the Bolshevik demands regarding the freedom of Finland, Armenia, and Ukrainia. There is other evidence that the full account of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations is not being published in the Teutonic empires. A report from Petrograd announces that the Turks, whose separate peace proposal was rejected by the Bolsheviki, have already broken the terms of the extended armistice by landing a force of 20,000 troops between Trebizond and Rize, and that a submarine has sunk a Russian transport.

IT is difficult to analyze the effects that President Wilson's speech have had on the Teutonic peoples. The official press has denounced it as "a demagogic artifice," and the rest of German newspapers are unanimous in their tirades. That the Government is determined that the people shall not know the full, ungarbled version of the President's speech is indicated in a communication sent by German Headquarters through Swiss authorities. This letter contains a warning that any pilots of airplanes engaged in dropping propaganda, if caught, will be treated as spies and shot. The President, whose speech has been praised by the British Labor Party, has shared the same fate that attended Premier Lloyd George: the speeches of both have been distributed among certain limited elements of the Teutonic populations, and then only in a fragmentary and garbled form.

THAT there is social and political unrest within the Teutonic empires is increasingly reported through neutral channels. The various reports of riots in Berlin and Vienna have been confirmed, among other things, by the Petrograd version of a serious mutiny of 25,000 German troops at Kovno. Another Petrograd story, also gleaned from German deserters, confirms widespread dissension at Tarnapol between Slav and Teutonic elements in the Austrian army, attended by serious fighting.

THE submarine menace has shown no abatement, and with the Admiralty report for the past week announcing a loss of twenty-one ships of 1,600 tons or over by mine and submarine, must be recorded another instance of the cynical disregard of the German navy for the Hague Convention. On January 4 the British hospital ship Rewa, displaying all the lights and markings demanded by the Hague rules, was torpedoed at midnight while transporting wounded from Gibraltar. The German authorities have already disclaimed the crime, and have endeavored to attribute the disaster to a mine. But the British Admiralty reports that the torpedo went directly through the red cross painted on the side of the ship. To the Allied mercantile losses of the past week must be added that of a French merchantman of more than 1,600 tons, while British naval losses include a destroyer torpedoed in the Mediterranean, together with another destroyer, the Raccoon, which foundered off the Irish coast with a total loss of her crew.

ONE result of the radical changes recently effected in the British Admiralty is the announcement of the formation of a Naval General Staff similar to that which has for long controlled the operations of the army. This important change, brought about since Sir Rosslyn Wemyss displaced Sir John Jellicoe, who was overburdened by his personal control of the myriad ramifications of the British Admiralty, involves the division of naval staff operations into three departments: the home waters, overseas activities, and measures for the protection of trade shipping.

RELIEF has at last come to the fleet of Allied merchantmen that has been detained in New York harbor by the lack of coal. These vessels, containing supplies for the Allies and for the American army abroad, had been detained for seventeen days, while the first American mail for Europe in two weeks has just been released. The combined efforts of Director of Railways McAdoo and Fuel Commissioner Garfield are expected shortly to bring about more favorable conditions throughout the country.

BRITISH and French reinforcements on the Italian front have furnished the only offensive of the week. Availing themselves of the stalemate imposed by winter on the Teutonic forces, the Allies have increased their artillery fire, while their patrols have been active on the Piave sector. The Italians also forced a Teutonic contingent to surrender important trench positions on the Lower Piave, and inflicted heavy losses with their artillery on the retreating enemy.

ON the western front the British and French are awaiting the German offensive, which is now expected as a result of the extensive Teutonic reinforcements from the Russian front. In their endeavor to discover the German preparations the French made brilliant raids in the Argonne and the Vosges, in which they destroyed the enemy positions and returned with important captures of prisoners. The French also repelled two important German attacks simultaneously delivered and supported by liquid fire, before Chaume Wood in the Verdun sector. The British have been troubled by raiding parties of the enemy, which they have always repulsed with loss. Artillery fire has largely dominated the western scene since the severe winter conditions have imposed comparative inactivity on both sides. That the Germans, however, are preparing for activity in the St. Quentin region is indicated in the news that they are busy destroying 130 villages behind this sector of the western line.

SPAIN has been threatened by a revolution, while fresh disorders are reported from Portugal. King Alfonso summoned the Cabinet for a special meeting, and all telegraphic communication was suspended. The disaffection was found to be mostly confined to certain official elements in the army. In Lisbon harbor a battleship shelled one of the forts before it was compelled to surrender.

SIGNIFICANT action is indicated in the resolution offered through their Chambers of Commerce by five hundred thousand American business men on the question of notifying the business men of Germany that commercial relations will not be reëstablished until a government responsible to the German people is instituted. The proposed action involves "no thought of revenge or punishment, but is based upon the logic that only through industrial intercourse with the United States can the military party of Germany get the sinews with which to precipitate a second great world war." By the withholding of raw materials, it is hoped that the ambitions of the dominant Junker party will be hampered, and a foundation encouraged for a better understanding between the two peoples in the future.

AS a result of the statement issued by President Wilson favoring the proposed amendment to the Constitution regarding woman's suffrage, the House of Representatives voted, on January 10, to adopt the Susan B. Anthony resolution of submitting the amendment to the State Legislatures for ratification. The question was debated for five hours in the House, and the resolution passed by a vote of 274 to 136. The suffrage party in the House was led by Miss Jeannette Rankin, the only woman member.

THE nation-wide move for a more intelligent conservation of fuel and food is gradually assuming coherency. On January 14 President Wilson extended the licensing system of the Food Administration to importers, manufacturers, and distributers of essential foodstuffs and cattle fodder. The President's proclamation includes such various industries as sea food, peanuts, malting, canning, and the preparation of various domestic and imported seeds and grains for human or animal consumption.

ONCE more ex-Premier Caillaux, the *bête noire* of French politics, is the centre of a storm. He has been acquitted in connection with so many public scandals that the vagueness of the present charges under which he has been arrested and imprisoned must cover definite and sinister evidence against him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED